CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY IN CENTRAL AFRICA

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONCOMITANTS OF GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONARY POLICY IN CENTRAL AFRICA, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO EDUCATION

GEORGE WAYLAND CARPENTER

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-- This study is an attempt to discern what is actually happening to the Natives of Central Africa, psychologically and culturally, as a result of the penetration of western civilization into their lands, and to consider the bearing of these spcyhological and cultural developments on government policy and more especially on missionary activity, particularly in the field of education. It is the result of eight years of missionary and educational experience in Belgian Congo, and of two years of study and research in the Department of Race Relations, Yale University.

Among the important conclusions of the study are the following:

1. Civilization is not automatically beneficial to the African, but may be highly destructive in its effects. It requires careful and intelligent mediation by the acculturative agencies.

2. Among the agencies of acculturation government and missions are capable of social thinking and conscious adaptation to promote the welfare of Native peoples. Trade and European productive enterprise are governed by the profit motive, and their acculturative effects are unpremeditated and secondary. It is therefore incumbent upon government to control their activity in the interests of Native welfare and development.

3. The secular and nationalistic emphases of colonial governments restrict their effectiveness in inducing wholesome personal and cultural growth in Native peoples.

4. Christian Missions may be an invaluable agency of cultural mediation and helpfulness provided they are free from motives of religious imperialism and awake to the broad implications of their activity.

5. Both Government and Missions need continually to be aware of the effect of their activity upon the whole person and whole culture of African peoples, and that of all other agencies of change; and to develop their programs of action in the light of this awareness.

6. The cultural heritage of African peoples has large contributions to make to education and development. Missions should make larger use of this heritage, especially in education, and should seek by this and other means to bring their work into ever more vital relationship with the total life of the African community.

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INTRODUCTION

The present year, 1937, marks the sixtieth anniversary of Henry M. Stanley's emergence at the mouth of the Congo river after his unprecedented journey across central Africa. The most immediate result of that journey was the dispatch of Christian missionaries to the regions he had penetrated, by way of both the east and the west coatts of Africa. Responsible governments began to be established shortly thereafter, and within a decade the partition of all Central Africa into colonies under the jurisdiction of the great Powers of Europe was in full swing.

The six decades that have passed have marked tremendous developments in the movements, both secular and religious, thus begun. Colonial affairs are no longer peripheral in the thinking either of statesmen or of the common people. Africa was the theater of military operations in the great war of 1914, her sons participated in that conflict, African territories changed hands as a result of it, and their possession is still a subject of contention. Europe has invested thousands of lives and millions of pounds and of francs in the development of Africa.

The sons and daughters of Africa have been compelled into an awareness of the outer world and an ever-increasing participation in its affairs. Christianity has taken root among them to the extent that its adherents are numbered by the million and that its demands are a significant factor in re-shaping their mores.

But these six decades have also brought significant changes in the attitudes and assumptions of Europe and America. The easy assumption of white superiority and of the adequacy of white civilization has given place to doubt. The elaborate and efficient cultural organization of African peoples has been discovered, and the disastrous effects of some of the earlier policies of assimilation are seen. Colonization is found less simple and more demanding than was at first supposed.

> For we colonizers have now entered on the rigorous days in which we feel the burden of the white man, civilizer by vocation, whose mission is to protect and improve the destiny of the backward races, weighing more heavily than ever on our shoulders. It is a great and noble mission, but one whose weight, risks, and peril in the present epoch we discern better than at the beginning.[1]

In particular the claims of Africans as human beings to consideration and treatment in terms of brotherhood have won increasing recognition, and this has involved the complete revision of earlier conceptions of colonization. The welfare of the Native peoples has, in theory at least, acquired primacy over white profit-seeking interests. The classic expression of this principle is found in Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

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1 Sarraut, A., Ministre des Colonies (France): An address reported in Journal of the African Society, v.32 (1933), p.226.

> To those colonies and territories . . . which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization. . . .
>
> The tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility. . . .[2]

The League of Nations Covenant, could, of course, apply this principle only to those areas which had been colonies of Germany and her Allies; but the colonizing powers have not been slow to recognise the same obligation with respect to other territories. Thus the British government intervened in the dispute between White settlers, Indian colonists and Natives in Kenya in 1923 with the pronouncement:

> Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. . . . There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory.[3]

In much the same vein M. Sarrout expressed his views on the obligations of colonial powers in 1924:

> Our right as colonizers, applying itself to the simultaneous improvement of the moral and material destiny of the countries colonized, is not the brutal right of the strongest, but . . . the generous right of the strong, of the better, to protect and help the weaker.

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2 Covenant of the League of Nations. Article XXII.

3 "Indians in Kenya", Cmd. 1922 (1923), reaffirmed in Cmd. 3574 (1929).

> Such is the essential idea which must animate and inspire all colonial policy; if it does not so vitalize it, if it does not give it this broadly humane character, then colonization, I recognise, is only an arbitrary, questionable and essentially illegitimate act.[4]

And finally, M. Pierre Ryckmans, the present Governor-General of Belgian Congo, has given pointed expression to his basic philosophy of colonization in the title of his book, "Dominer pour Servir."[5] Thus a sense of obligation toward the Natives of their colonies has become part of the fundamental thinking of governments and statesmen.

The collaboration of Christian Missions in the discharge of this obligation has generally been welcomed, and they have played an increasingly important part in the mediation to African peoples of education and medical aid as well as in the immediate field of religion.

But in these fields also the temper of the western world itself has changed. Christianity has been sharply challenged by a materialistic philosophy with a secular view point. It is confronted "with a new type of culture which tries to get along without religion and which has condemned all religion as a costly encumbrance."[6] Science and historical studies and a broadening knowledge of other faiths have conspired to bring into question Christianity's claims of finality and authority, and created much uncertainty and uneasiness within the ranks of the church. Fresh thinking and much reorientation have been necessary. If for some this movement of thought has resulted in

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4 Sarraut, A.: L'OEuvre coloniale de la France. In Franck, L.: Etudes de Colonization comparée. t.1., p. 19. (1924).

5 Ryckmans, Pierre: Dominer pour Servir. Brussels,

6 Hocking,W.E.:Christianity and Intercultural Contacts. Journal of Religion, v.14 (1934) pp.127-38. p.134.

an intensification of religious faith and conviction, for others it has meant confusion and loss of assurance. For some of the former:

> . . . the fixed and external authorities of religion have yielded, much to the liberation of all phases of religious life. The element of absolute finality cannot be found incorporated in any written word external to the individual, in any institution external to him, in any person external to him. The word of God does come to mankind, but it does not anywhere take the form of an infallible and literally authoritative printed book. God does in truth speak to men through the Bible, but that speech must be heard by each individual for himself, as a response of his whole being to the living and present spirit beyond the printed word. The word of God is individually addressed.
>
> This has put an end to the cogency of all arguments and of all denominational differences based upon authoritative scripture. It has not by any means put an end to the value of quoting scripture. If anything it has lent to that practice a greater freedom and scope; but the value of the text is found not in its physical presence but in its power to illuminate the heart.[1]

For many who have not found their way to such a view as this the period has been one of grave perplexity, involving either the rejection of much modern thinking, the loss or weakening of religious faith or an unresolved disharmony of mind and spirit.

The general loss of certitude has involved, for many, a weakening of those convictions on which their support of missions--or at least concurrence in the enterprise--was based. Beyond that, it has resulted in the permeation of the present-day world with the idea that all religion is a matter of secondary importance, an aesthetically satisfying decoration, external to the main business of life, instead of an essential member of the fundamental structure of reality.

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[1] Hocking, W. E.: op. cit., p. 133.

Consequently the modern world has seen the rise of avowedly secular "totalitarian" states with their assumption of control over the whole life of the people in the interests of extreme nationalism. The democratic and Christian ideal of world brotherhood is in danger of submergence once more beneath the tides of a resurgent tribalism. In much of Europe to-day the relations of church and state are once more a burning issue, especially as regards the religious training of young people. It is not by chance that the Central Christian Council for Life and Work feels impelled to summon this year an international conference of which the great objective is to be the clarification of the issues and the Christian position regarding the relations of community, church and state.

New conceptions of education have also developed during recent decades, and these greatly intensify the struggle for the mind of youth.

> It is only within the last century that national systems of education have been established in Western countries and are now being extended throughout the whole world. It would be broadly true to say that, whereas in the earlier part of this period the primary interest of the teachers was in the subjects taught, the center of interest has increasingly become the pupil himself. The importance of this switch over of interest can hardly be exaggerated. The older type of teaching, if in its cruder forms it accomplished the minimum of good, was at the same time incapable of doing any serious harm. It did not reach close enough to the center of personality. When from the Latin or geography that are being taught to John the interest is transferred to John himself, new issues at once arise. When education or the state become interested in what John is to become they are interested in the same question in which the Church is interested. And both educators and the state are increasingly aware that they can do a great deal in the making of John. Advances in psychology are adding to our knowledge of human nature and the way in which it responds to particular stimuli. Educational methods can do much to influence and mould, and upto a point to save and redeem, character. An experienced psychologist may be able, especially in the case of young

> children, to discover the cause of an emotional disturbance, and thereby cure a moral weakness more successfully than religious teaching would do. As knowledge and the power it confers increase, they will increasingly be used. The totalitarian state . . . is prepared to use every educational agency at its disposal to create the type of man that those who exercise authority consider to be desirable. These attempts should open our eyes to the fact that public education can be regarded as a neutral field only so long as education is restricted to the technical tasks of communicating to the rising generation the accumulated knowledge and skill of society and fostering generally acknowledged social virtues. As soon as it passes beyond this technical sphere and occupies itself with the soul of the pupil or the center of his being, questions of ultimate belief are involved. . . . It may well be that the main conflict between Christian faith and the secular interpretation of life will have to be waged in the field of public education. The Church will have won little in obtaining liberty to preach and to conduct its own worship and services, if the whole weight of a public system of education is directed towards inculcating in the impressionable mind of youth beliefs about the world and man and conduct which are incompatible with the Christian understanding of life.[8]

These stresses and movements within the Western world form a part of the background against which the developments in African lands are taking place. In most African colonies Christian missions and government are conscious collaborators in the huge and complex task, essentially an educational task, of helping the Native peoples through the period of transition from the comparative stability of tribalism into a new order as yet largely undefined. The church, despite its realization of weaknesses and partial failures in the older so-called "Christian lands", still believes itself possessed of an abiding and indispensible message to all mankind without which true advance to the fullest realization of human worth is impossible. To the very limit of its resources it tries to convey and interpret this message to the African peoples and make it self-propagating among them.

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8 Oldham, J.H.: Church, Community and State: a World Issue. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935.) pp. 16-18.

Colonial governments, conscious of their responsibilities toward the Native peoples, are beset also by the claims of competing interests, and by the necessity of balancing budgets while they carry forward the manifold activities involved in developing their colonies.

There are also other factors involved in the acculturation of Affica's peoples. Trade and industry exert an enormous influence, both by training Natives in European skills and employing them as laborers and by spreading the use of money and introducing all manner of western goods and products. Newspapers and cinemas, and even European books--sometimes of the trashier sort--are enlarging the African's horizons. City life is becoming known to him, and some few even visit Europe as employees on the steam ships. But these influences, important as they are, exert, as cultural agencies,only an incidental and unpremeditated effect. Government and missions alone accept Native welfare and development as a primary obligation and responsibility. Government and missions alone, therefore, are in a position to develop theories and policies of Native development, or to survey and evaluate results obtained in this field. They are the only self-conscious social agencies concerned with Native advancement.

The present study is an attempt to discern what is actually happening to the natives of central Africa, psychologically and culturally, as a result of the penetration of western civilization into their lands, and to consider the bearings of these psychological and cultural developments on government policy and more especially on missionary activity, particularly in the field of education.

Various fragments of this general question have been dealt with by previous writers,[9] and it has consequently been necessary to traverse some familiar ground. But no unified view has, so far as the author is aware, hitherto been presented, including both the sociological problems involved in the cultural penetration of Central Africa and the detailed study of the actual and potential contribution of Christian missions to their solution. The nearest approach is perhaps found in "The Remaking of Man in Africa,"[10] a volume which may be said to afford a charter for the present work in the following words:

> The object of this chapter[11] has been to bring into the centre of the discussion of educational policy questions which we believe to be of profound importance for the future of Christianity in Africa, and to emphasize the need of further thought and study being devoted to them. The task of Christian education cannot be carried out successfully without a deepening understanding of the forces that hold African society together, of the ways in which they are being affected or disrupted by western civilization, and of the means by which new social bonds may be fostered and strengthened to take the place of those which are being dissolved. This study must include both tribal life and the conditions in urban and mining centres.[12]

The present study is the fruit of eight years' experience as a member of the Faculty of the Ecole de Pasteurs et d'Instituteurs, at Kimpese, Belgian Congo,[13] and of two years of study and research in the Department of Race Relations at Yale University, with fellowship aid from the Carnegie Corporation. The writer's interest naturally centers in the work of

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9 Reference is made to all important works in this field known to the writer, either in footnotes or in the appended bibliography. In the nature of the case it is not feasible to indicate here their various contributions to the problem.

10 Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D. The Remaking of Man in Africa. (London, Oxford University Press, 1931.)

11 Chapter entitled: The New and the Old. 12. Op. cit., p. 62.

13 Training school for American and British Baptist Missions.

the Protestant Missions in Congo, with which he has been directly associated. But for the sake of perspective and comparison it was necessary to include a wider field than one colony or one group of missions could afford. Three other European Powers have colonies adjoining Belgian Congo, France to the north and west, Portugal to the south, and Great Britain to the east and south-east. Parts of the British and French territories, as of the Belgian, are ruled under mandates from the League of Nations. Central Africa as a whole, therefore, is the scene of a variety of efforts and experiments in the field of colonization, yet the Native peoples of all this region are for the most part of one ethnic group and even akin one to another in language and culture. Thus conditions and developments in one area may serve, within limits, as a basis of comparison with those in a different area where a dissimilar régime has been applied.

The major issues with which it has been found necessary to deal are largely related to those already sketched as outstandingly important in western lands. The transference to Africa of the exaggerated nationalisms of Europe involves incongruities and perplexities, present policies of doubtful wisdom and the threat of future strife. The assumption on the part of certain colonial powers that the Natives can and should be made over more or less completely into the likeness of Europeans requires examination, not only as a question of moral rights but also as a practical question--both as to the possibility of such wholesale transformation and of the adequacy of the state or any

external and secular agency to effect it. The participation of Christian missions in the acculturative process involves a number of questions; first, as to the relevancy and adequacy of their message, and their ability to discriminate between essential values and accidentals resulting from participation in the general culture of the western world; second, as to the real and abiding effect of their activity, and the possibility of enhancing its value through social thinking and culturally conscious planning; and finally as to the relationships which subsist, or should subsist, between Africans, personally and corporately, and the various agencies concerned for their welfare.

If any single premise of this study has, more than another, been confirmed as it progressed, it is the impossibility of determining far in advance what will actually and ultimately contribute most largely to Native welfare and advancement. Some colonial administrators, and some missionaries, have loved to dream of "new and rectilinear architectures"[14] to take the place of the seemingly crude and uncouth structures of Native life. They have supposed that statesmanship, or religion, or social science, might lay down lines of procedure which need only be followed out logically and consistently to produce that elevation, intellectual,moral, economic or social, which they desire to produce. But experience does not bear out this supposition. The laws of social advance, if they exist, are not of mathematical simplicity but of biological or more than biological complexity. Every step that is taken changes innumerable

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14 See page 73.

factors in the equation, so that reality constantly outruns expectation and introduces new variants. The processes of social development and cultural change (including religious change) are psychologically based; thus they penetrate beyond all laws and rules and externals to the fundamental realm of human inter-relations where personal attitudes, personal sympathies and antipathies, are dominant. This is the realm in which Christianity comes to expression most effectively. For this reason the author believes that Christianity affords an element indispensible to the well-being of African peoples as of all others. But, once again, it cannot be a Christianity prescribed in form and content by external authority, much less imposed by an external will, but must grow up from within, spread from life to life by contagion, and express itself in spontaneous and possibly unexpected forms. No-one need hope successfully to prescribe Christianity or any other remedy for the ills of Africa; the best we can hope to do is to make provision for the processes of growth, foster them and to some extent guide them, until Africa's peoples attain that stature and maturity--rooted, we may well believe, in Christain faith--that will enable them "to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

CHAPTER 1

CENTRAL AFRICAN CULTURE AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Africa today is a continent in transition. Protected for millenia by natural barriers--desert sands and mountain ranges--and by the more formidable barriers of disease and fear, Africa developed a life and culture apart. But the past sixty years have witnessed the conquest of these barriers and the penetration of the white man's "western" culture into all parts of the continent with cumulative force and effect. The changes now taking place as the result and as concomitants of that penetration are complex and involved. They concern not only the Africans themselves, but the European powers which govern African colonies, and many other interests of various types: industries, commercial ventures, agricultural developments, agencies of transportation, educators, medical men, and Christian missionaries and their constituencies. Because of this variety of interests and view points it is not always easy to discern what actually is taking place, much less to measure effects and justly appraise values.

In these pages the welfare of the African peoples is assumed to be the consideration of primary importance, but this does not immediately clarify issues, for there is no general agreement what the term welfare means or how it is to be secured.

The most diverse measures have been taken in various parts of Africa, and the most divergent policies are in force to-day, all with the professed object--among others--of helping the Native. It is therefore necessary to study what is taking place in various areas, to observe the broad lines of cultural change, and to estimate the forces at work, before any valid conclusions can be drawn regarding the significance of a particular aspect of the whole scene.

But such a survey cannot in the nature of the case be exhaustive. It must deal with general conditions and trends, and so is bound to be inaccurate in detail. It can at best be no more than an impressionistic sketch of the outstanding social characteristics and phenomena of central Africa to serve as background and frame of reference for the more detailed chapters to follow.

PRE-EUROPEAN CULTURE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Understanding of modern Africa is often beclouded by two mistaken assumptions: first, that the African peoples were rude savages "living in a state of nature," (i.e., without culture) before the white man came; and second, that the process of cultural change through the introduction of foreign elements is a new thing peculiar to the present generation.

While it is true that Africans had not developed anything as complex as modern European civilization, their institutions are by no means to be despised as barbarous or insignificant. And while the present era marks a tremendous intensification of

the forces of change, leading even to the disruption of the old African culture in places, it is none the less true that Europe has been influencing Africa for four hundred and fifty years,[1] and that other cultural contacts and borrowings may be traced back centuries and perhaps millenia earlier still.[2] In fact the dominant culture of all Equatorial Africa is due to the Bantu peoples who migrated thither from one or more regions presumably in the northern Sudan, and who appear to have conquered and assimilated whatever peoples they found in possession.[3] Bantu peoples were still pushing southward into new territory when they came into contact with white settlers in what is now Cape Province early in the nineteenth century. How long the migrations had been in progress no man can say, but it can hardly have been less than a thousand years. Except for the Hottentots and Bushmen of South Africa and the scattered groups of Pigmies in the Equatorial forests there remain no Native peoples in the southern half of Africa who are not today predominantly Bantu in language and culture. The relationships between the Bantu, the Sudanese peoples of West Africa, and the Nilotic and Hamitic peoples of North-east Africa are still obscure.

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1 A.D., since the Portuguese voyages of discovery between 1482 and 1500.

2 E.g., Arab and Persian influences on the East Coast, which are believed to antedate the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Cf. Brown,A.S. and G.: The South and East African Handbook and Guide, 1935 edition. (London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co.) p. 732.

3 Johnston, Sir H.H.: A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages. (London, Oxford University Press, 2.v., 1919 and 1922.) In the preliminary chapters Johnston discusses the linguistic evidence as to the origins and migrations of the Bantu. A sketch-map of these migrations is given in v.2, p.xii.

Diffusion of Bantu culture. Bantu culture may be found described in any one of a score of ethnographic monographs on important tribes[4] and in dozens of lesser books and articles. Literally hundreds of Bantu languages have been studied and reduced to writing.[5] There is a remarkable degree of uniformity in both cultural and linguistic traits throughout the whole vast area of Bantu migration and conquest. At the same time comparison of the various tribes reveals marked differences in the degree to which the typically Bantu traits are found. For example the highly complex political organization which is seen in the ancient kingdom of Kongo, and among such tribes as the Bushongo and especially the Baganda today is completely lacking among the Bangala of the middle Congo. These latter possess no political unit larger than the village, and no official beyond the clan chief.[6] Thus it would appear that the Bantu were not uniformly successful in maintaining and propagating the whole complex of culture habits which they brought from their ancestral homes. Even in language there is a remarkable range from the full, expressive, and highly inflected languages of certain tribes to the worn and impoverished tongues which suffice for others. There is probably a high degree of correlation between richness of language and elaborateness of culture all through central Africa; but both language and culture adhere closely to the general Bantu type, however

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4 For instance: Smith,E.W. and Dale,A.M.:The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia; Stayt,H.A.: The Bavenda; Junod,H.: The Life of a South African Tribe; Roscoe, J.: The Baganda; and the series of monographs on Congo tribes edited by Van Overbergh.

5 Johnston, op. cit., gives specimen vocabularies of about 300.

6 Weeks, J.H.: Among Congo Cannibals, p.169.

rich they may be, apart of course, from extraneous influences such as the borrowings from Arabic and Portuguese sources. Hence there is good reason to ascribe to Bantu origin the normal and typical elements of the comparatively complex culture which is found widespread over all central and most of southern Africa; and to regard local aberrations from this general pattern as due either to the persistence of traits derived from the local population of pre-Bantu days or to the effect of local conditions which modified or limited the application of typically Bantu institutions.

The great variability of physical type throughout this whole region also bears witness to a long period of successive migrations and minglings of peoples. It is no longer possible to isolate any central African type as typically Bantu or non-Bantu, with the single possible exception of the pigmy. For the rest there is frequently observable some distinguishing feature which appears to be more or less characteristic of some local group; but the exceptions are too numerous and the criteria of judgment too precarious to justify any elaborate deductions from such observations.

Cultural zones: the cattle complex. Bantu culture may be divided into two principal zones, that of East and South Africa in which cattle are dominant, and that of the Congo basin in which cattle are absent. The lack of cattle in the latter area is probably due to a form of sleeping sickness which destroyed the herds at some remote period. A word for cattle is often found in the language of peoples who have not possessed them for many generations. The loss of cattle has not merely

involved a change in diet and food provision, it has also brought serious modifications into the whole social and religious pattern of life; for to the East African Bantu the cattle are the living symbol of tribal continuity, the medium of intercourse with the ancestral spirits, and the property in which bride-price or "lobola" is reckoned and paid.[7] In the absence of cattle throughout most of the Congo basin, substitutes have had to be found for cattle in all these relations, but no single and equally unifying focus of tribal life have been developed.

Subsistence. In general cattle have had a symbolic rather than a practical value to the Bantu.[8] They are rarely killed and eaten except in ceremonial observances. For ordinary food most tribes depend chiefly on agriculture, in which the women almost everywhere engage[9] with assistance fromthe men in forest-clearing and other heavy work, and sometimes in the actual tilling of the soil. The principal crop in pre-European times seems to have been millet or some similar grain. The plantain may also have been known, together with various roots and wild fruits and especially the oil-palm.[10] Game has generally been fairly abundant, and most Bantu tribes engage in

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7 See further page 21.

8 Smith and Dale: op. cit., v.1., pp.127-34, etc.

9 The principal exception is probably the riverine peoples who fish for a living and exchange produce with inland agricultural peoples.

10 These statements are supported by the feferences to native agriculture found in the earliest extant narratives describing central African life, e.g. Andrew Battel, The strange Adventures of Andrew Battel... (c.1600); Angelo and Carli, A Voyage to Congo (1667); Merolla, Voyage to Congo (1682), etc. These and others will be found in Pinkerton: Voyages and Travels (London, 1816) v. 16.

hunting more or less seriously. Certain tribes are very skilful fishermen and make fishing their principal occupation.

Craftsmanship. Bantu are capable craftsmen in wood and metal.[11] Various tribes practise the smelting of iron and copper ores and the manufacture, by casting, forging, and even drawing of wire, of tools implements and ornaments of various kinds. Some of their wood carving displays a highly developed artistic sense as well as technical skill, notably such works as ceremonial masks, stools, and fetish images. Pottery is widespread, as is the use of a simple loom for weaving cloth of grass or fibre. Basketry of several types is practised. The most widespread weapon is probably the speak (kongo, shongo, etc.) from which several Bantu peoples have derived their tribal names.[12] Bows and arrows, daggers, darts and axes are also used. Apart from their huts (round or square, generally built with grass or mud-plastered walls and thatched roofs) the most notable large structures are the dug-out canoes, of which some are immense, and the suppension bridges using forest lianas for cables. Mention must also be made of the drums hollowed out of trees and fashioned so as to emit two distinct notes of different pitches or timbres, by means of which messages are transmitted over long distances with remarkable speed and accuracy. Musical instruments include the marimba with gourds for resonators,

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11 Cf. Weeks,J.H.: Among Congo Cannibals, pp.79-95; Routledge, W.S. and K.: With a Prehistoric People (The Akikuyu) pp.66-116, etc.

12 So Johnston, op. cit., v. 2, p.106.

a small instruments with projecting iron reeds played with the thumbs, guitar-like instruments with fibre strings, and drums of many kinds.[13]

Social organization. The social organization of Bantu peoples is generally elaborate.[14] Descent is patrilineal in some tribes and matrilineal in others; and the kinship system varies accordingly in its details, though it is always complex. It is of the classificatory type. Social grades tend to be numerous, ranging from the hereditary slave to the chiefly clan. Slavery of one or more types is almost universal. The ruling clans tend to develop a hierarchical political organization culminating in a great chief or king surrounded by a court of notables. There may be great display of ceremony, and there may be genuine authority over the subordinate rulers and people of a large domain.[15] The local chiefs possess well-defined powers as judges, administrative officers, and, at least in certain instances, the supernaturally endowed religious heads of their communities.[16] In addition to the local chiefs and the political hierarchy where it exists, there are also clan chiefs and family head men in most Bantu societies. Not infrequently these constitute a council of elders who advise the village or district chief on all matters of common concern.

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13 Cf. Kirby,P.B.:The Musical Instruments of the Natives of South Africa. (London, Oxford University Press, 1934.)

14 Cf. Smith and Dale: op. cit., v.1, pp.283-315, etc.

15 Cf. Torday, E.: On the Trail of the Bushongo, pp.153-57, et passim.

16 Cf. De Cleene,N.: Les Chefs indigènes au Mayombe. Africa, v. 8, p.66.

Religion. The central religious conception of Bantu life is the continuity of the clan. The ancestors continue to be interested in the welfare of their descendents. Through magical or religious ceremonies communication may be established whereby the will of the ancestors is determined for the guidance of the group. When displeased the ancestors may bring ill-fortune upon the living. The primary duty of man, therefore, is so to live as to merit the approbation of his ancestors and enhance the welfare and prestige of his clan. Apart from the ancestral spirits, however, the Bantu believe in the existence of innumerable other beings, mostly malevolent, who may be invoked by witchcraft to harm one's enemies, and against whom it is necessary to be constantly protected by counter-magic. These are the sources of loss and calamity, of illness, crop-failure and other evils. Hence the services of the witch-doctor, the medicine-man or shaman, are much in demand, and that individual plays an important part in the life of all Bantu peoples. Sometimes many specialized varieties of practitioners are found in the same community, each dealing with particular needs. Elaborate procedures exist for discovering persons guilty of witchcraft. Trial by ordeal is resorted to in witchcraft cases, and the death penalty is universally imposed for that crime.[17]

Marriage. Polygyny is not uncommon in most Bantu communities. In general it has economic as well as prestige value, since women do most of the agricultural work. However, there are not enough women to make possible anything approaching

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17 Cf. Weeks, J.H.: Among the Primitive Bakongo, pp.214-265, etc. Also Africa, v.8, no.4.(1935) The entire number is devoted to a discussion of African witchcraft.

universal polygyny, so the vast majority of marriages are actually monogamous.[18] Where polygyny is most pronounced child betrothal is also found, since women are so much in demand that men find it necessary to preëmpt little girls by betrothal in early childhood or even at birth.[19] Almost universally among Bantu marriage involves the transfer to the family of the bride of cattle or some substitute by way of compensation and guaranty. Should the marriage be dissolved under circumstances blameworthy to the husband repayment would be demanded. Where cattle are found this payment or lobola is always reckoned in cattle.[20] Elsewhere various substitutes have been devised, such as hoes, pieces of grass cloth, cowries, and, since the advent of the European, trade goods of all kinds or even currency.

Rites of passage and secret societies. Birth, marriage and death are accompanied by ceremonial rites having a magical or religious significance. In addition there is in many Bantu societies a series of rites marking the emergence into manhood or womanhood. These ceremonies generally involve a period of seclusion in specially built quarters, during which the class of initiates is taught the esoteric lore of the tribe and given sexual and practical instruction. Circumcision often takes place at the time of entering the lodge, and tests of fortitude and endurance mark the period of seclusion. On emergence the

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18 The South African census report for 1921 showed seven marriages out of eight monogamous. The proportion of polygynous marriages would certainly greatly exceed that in certain central African tribes, but not in all.

19 Cf. Weeks: Among Congo Cannibals. p.122ff.

20 Even though actually paid in some other medium.

the intiates are restored to the community through a protracted series of ceremonies, generally symbolic of a new birth as an adult member of the group. Only initiates are permitted to marry. Some societies have additional lodges for more advanced age-grades, each advance adding tothe prestige of the initiate, but involving heavy expenditure to meet the costs and charges of initiation.[21]

Artistic expression. Bantu peoples are generally rich in folk-lore in the form of tales, fables, and especially proverbs. They have a strong sense of rhythm and songs for all occasions. With song goes dance, and the Bantu delight in rhythmic action of all kinds. Any kind of work which can be performed rhythmically will be done in no other way. The whole working group may join in a chantey, or one member may be spared to beat time while the others work.

Education. In the cattle-raising regions the boys spend a great part of their time with the herds, while their sisters follow their mothers in their gardening and household activities. Cattle are generally taboo to women, so their care devolves entirely on the men and boys. The informal education of boys and girls is thus markedly different, being derived largely from the talk and activities of members of their own sex in either case. This is less true in the regions where cattle are absent, since the boys spend more time in the village; but there is still a measure of differentiation according to the typical activities of the sexes.

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21 Cf. Delhaise: Les Warega. (Brussels, 1909.) The Warega of Eastern Congo have six degrees of initiation and three for women.

This in bald outline is the type of culture possessed by Bantu peoples previous to the coming of the white man, as nearly as it can be reconstructed from present-day observation and a study of the older records. But profound and cumulative changes are taking place under the influence of contact with the outer world. In the next section the stages by which that influence has made itself felt will be briefly traced, and in the following section their significance to present-day African life will be summarized.

MODERN CULTURAL PENETRATION OF AFRICA

The Portuguese. Portuguese explorers reached the Congo estuary in 1482.[22] By 1500 they had passed the Cape of Good Hope and far up the East Coast and thence to India. Very shortly thereafter they began to establish coastal stations at convenient points along the African coast, of which some developed into fortresses and cities in the course of time, notably Loanda on the west coast, Mozambique, Mombasa and Kilwa on the East. Many food plants were brought thither from South America, including manioc, maize, peanuts, and bananas, the principal food crops of Central Africa today. The slave trade with America gave great impetus to the development of Loanda and other west coast settlements. Portuguese missionaries penetrated far into the interior from both coasts, and developed a very considerable work in the more accessible centers, such as San Salvador, the capital of the old Native

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22 Ravenstein, E.G.: The Voyages of Diego Cao... Geographical Journal, v. 16, pp.625-55. Maps.

Kingdom of Kongo, and points along the coast. But the increasingly lucrative slave-trade brought about internal strife and turbulence among the tribes, and it became impossible for white men to reside in the interior. Missions and government retained a foothold only along the coast.[23]

On the east coast the Portuguese waged a long struggle with the Arabs, with fluctuating but gradually declining influence. At times only the fortress of Mozambique remained in their possession. From 1784 onward the Imaum of Muscat ruled the east coast through his viceroy at Zanzibar, and Arab influence was supreme. Thenceforth the Arab slave trade developed rapidly, and their caravan routes penetrated to Lake Tanganyika and beyond to the upper Congo (the Lualaba).[24]

The British. It was the slave trade that first drew Great Britain into central African affairs. Both British and Dutch had tried without much success to obtain a share in the west coast slave trade along the Congo coast. With the rise of anti-slavery sentiment Great Britain took the lead in attempting to suppress the trade along both coasts. A consulate was established at Zanzibar, and gradually increasing pressure brought to bear until the last public slave markets were abolished in 1873. Meanwhile a number of explorers had penetrated various parts of Africa and awakened a very considerable popular interest in the continent. Missionaries had also undertaken

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23 Many details of this whole movement may be gleaned from the early narratives in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels. See note 10. See also Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., art. Angola.

24 Brown: South and East African Year Book (1935), pp.732-33.

work along both coasts. In this movement French, German and American religious bodies were also participants. Livingstone and Stanley greatly accentuated both the missionary and the general interest in Central Africa by their journeyings and their writings.

A certain number of European companies had trading posts along the African coast, but until the laster third of the nineteenth century these were not regarded as of any great importance. The economic depression of the 'sixties, however, awakened commercial and industrial interests to the necessity of expanding markets, and their thoughts turned naturally to the still largely unknown peoples of Africa as such a potential market.[25] Governments began to take an active interest in exploration, and to delimit spheres of influence. Stanley was sent back to the Congo in 1879 at the initiative of Léopold II, King of the Belgians, with instructions to open trade routes and establish effective government.[26] In this same period British, Continental, and shortly afterwards American missions began to penetrate inwards from both coasts with the purpose of evangelizing all central Africa.[27]

The partition of Africa. International rivalry quickly made itself felt, and in 1884 a simultaneous movement to claim African territory as national "spheres of influence"

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25 I am indebted to Professor Harry Rudin for pointing out the importance of European economic conditions in this movement.

26 Stanley,H.M.: The Congo... (New York,Harper & Bros.1885.2 v.)

27 Du Plessis,J.:The Evangelization of Pagan Africa. (Cape Town, Juta and Co., 1930.) Schmidlin,J.: Catholic Mission History, (trans. by M. Braun. Techny, Ill. Mission Press,S.V.D. 1933.)

took place. The Conference of Berlin (November 1884 to February 1885) adjusted these rival claims and established the general pattern of colonial holdings which has prevailed ever since. Portugal, France, Great Britain and Germany all emerged with huge blocks of African territory, very little of it effectually occupied at the time; and Léopold was made independent ruler of an autonomous state embracing nearly the whole drainage basin of the Congo river.

Early development of African colonies. At once it became necessary to secure capital for the development of these vast holdings, and to that end important concessions were granted to companies organized and chartered for the purpose. The terms of these concessions varied, but in certain instances the company became virtually the ruler of vast and ill-defined areas with unlimited authority over the people and a monopoly of its trade and resources. From the standpoint of the welfare of the inhabitants this unlimited concession system is probably the worst form of tyranny and misgovernment ever devised. The excesses committed under this system resulted in the suppression or drastic curtailment of concessionary rights in nearly every instance.[28]

The development of means of communication was one of the first responsibilities of government. For the Congo area the vast network of navigable rivers afforded natural arteries of commerce, as did the great lakes in East Africa to a lesser

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28 Cf. Woolf,L.: Empire and Commerce in Africa. (London, Allen and Unwin, 1920.) Also, Morel,E.D.: Free Labour in Tropical Africa. The Nineteenth Century and After, v.75, (1914), pp.629-43.

extent. But railroads were necessary to give access to these waterways, and they were built as rapidly as conditions permitted. The first was the Lower Congo Railway between the port of Matadi and the extremity of river navigation at Leopoldville, completed in 1898. This superceded Stanley's caravan road and suppressed human porterage of goods for the interior. The railroad from Mombasa to Kisumu on Lake Victoria was opened in 1903. A road from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika was completed just before the war but was greatly damaged during hostilities and had to be rebuilt subsequently. These lines and others of less importance made vast regions of the interior accessible to all the influences of western life and culture.[29]

In the early period there was an appalling mortality and morbidity, due largely to the prevalence of diseases of which the nature and mode of transmission were unknown. Medical science made an important contribution to human welfare by discovering the causes and perfecting treatments and preventive measures for the most prevalent of these maladies. It became possible for white men and women to live in the tropics without the extreme risk to life and health which was involved previously.

From about 1900 onward, therefore, white people began to look toward the more elevated and salubrious parts of central Africa as a possible place of residence, and a limited number of settlers appeared in Kenya and elsewhere. The war interrupted this movement, and governmental policies in the post-war period have been less favorable to it than before.

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29 Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness is an impressionistic sketch, largely autobiographical, of conditions in the Congo during the period when the railway was being built and communication with the interior depended on human porterage. Conrad served the S.A. Belge pour le Commerce du Haut Congo.

Christian missions made rapid advances throughout this period. The number of missions and of missionaries increased greatly; stations were opened in successively more remote regions; and large numbers of Africans were brought into touch with Christianity. There was little general education except rudimentary village schools taught by Christian catechists, but for the training of these leaders a considerable number of training schools were established. The missions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, also played a significant part in the suppression of abuses arising from the concessions system.

The war of 1914-1918. The period of the war brought almost to a standstill the processes of colonial development and expansion. Neither men nor funds nor equipment could be spared for colonial development. Staffs were reduced, plantations and concessions left without oversight, property deteriorated. Shipping services were curtailed; and the railways, their coal reserves exhausted, fell back on wood for fuel.

Missions likewise found their staffs reduced and supplies scarce or unobtainable. As the war progressed it became impossible for German missionaries to remain at their posts, and temporary provision was made for the maintenance of German mission work by British, French, Scandinavian and American missions.[30]

In certain areas African Natives were drawn into the conflict. French colonies contributed contingents of Native

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30 The best documentation for this period is found in the contemporary numbers of the International Review of Missions. At intervals of a year or 18 months a general survey of world conditions as related to missions was published, with particular attention to the effect of the war on mission work in all fields.

troops for service in France. French, Belgian and British colonial troops were mobilized against German colonials in Cameroon and Tanganyika,and thus learned to fight with the tactics, weapons and persistence of their white rulers. The close of the war found only one small German contingent still in the field, and all the former German colonial possessions in the possession of the Allied Powers. This redistribution of territory was made permanent (under the limitations imposed by Article XXII of the Covenant of the Leage of Nations, and by the terms of the Mandates) in the settlement after the war.

The post-war period. After the war the first necessity was the reoccupation of deserted posts and projects, the repair of damages, and the restoration of normal operations in all fields. World stocks of raw materials had been used up, and there was every incentive to rapid expansion in productive capacity. Former enterprises were re-established and many new ones undertaken. Transport facilities were taxed beyond capacity and railway reconstruction and extension were undertaken. Trade, industry and government agencies penetrated to the most remote regions until all of central Africa had been brought into effective contact with the outer world. Missions again increased in numbers and staffs until few parts of central Africa remain completely unreached by their activity.

Governments became more acutely conscious of the limitation imposed on colonial activity by the lack of sufficient numbers of laborers, both for public services like railway construction and for private employment. The necessity of conserving and augmenting the labor supply became apparent.

The welfare of the Native peoples thus came to have a new significance. Public health programs of a more comprehensive type then ever before were developed, with the aim of controlling and eventually eradicating certain of the most serious tropical diseases. Labor-recruiting was put under control, labor conditions and migrations supervised and subjected to effective control for the first time. The dangers inherent in the decay of Native institutions and the dislocation of Native life by land alienation, excessive labor demands, enforced changes of diet or living habits and the like began to receive attention. Competent departments of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and various special fields of research began to appear. Methods of government began to be modified toward greater recognition of Native insiitutions. Education of the Native peoples as a whole became a concern of colonial governments.

The fields of missions and of government, which had hitherto been quite largely distinct, thus began to overlap. As a result various agreements, sometimes formally drawn up but more often informally worked out through conference together, began to bring governments and missions into working agreement in various fields of common interest. The most important of these have been medical work and education; and in these fields it has become quite common for missions to participate in a general program of activity outlined and controlled by the government, and to receive financial subventions and sometimes other aid in return. At the same time the missions retain a large degree of autonomy, particularly in regard to the specifically religious aspect and emphasis of their work.

The world-wide economic depression of the years following 1929 struck central Africa with peculiar force. Its principal products found little market, and prices dropped to less than the cost of transport to Europe in many instances. Governments were forced to intervene to prevent complete collapse of colonial agricultural and extractive enterprises. It was necessary to retrench expenditures for education and social services to the Native peoples in consequence, and many projects of colonial development were halted or postponed. The return of more normal economic conditions should result in renewed, if perhaps more ordered and considered activity in these fields.

The post-war period has seen the growth of the Native church in numbers and in importance as a socially important and incipiently self-conscious body. Particularly among Protestants the Church is beginning to sense its own individual selfhood as distinct from the parent mission bodies. It is beginning to administer its own affairs and to make its own decisions. In general the missions welcome and foster this movement toward autonomy, though they do not consider it opportune to relinquish general oversight and guidance over its affairs until the Native leaders are more seasoned and experienced. But the Native church is becoming increasingly a significant factor in African society, a factor no longer foreign and external, but indigenous to African life.

Thus western life has made its way into central Africa with ever increasing emphasis. How does it look to the African? In what ways is his life and outlook different because of it? These and similar questions the next section will attempt to face.

THE FORCES OF CHANGE IN THEIR BEARING ON AFRICAN LIFE

In discussing the changes taking place in African life it is easier to be eloquent than exact. Sentimental regard for the disappearing past is as likely to distort the picture drawn today as humanitarian abhorrence of cruelty and degredation was to color the accounts of the early explorers and pioneer missionaries. A view at once comprehensive and dispassionate is hard to achieve, yet it is basic to all considerations of aim and policy in relation to African peoples. Since for the present discussion the welfare of African peoples is the center of interest, current changes must be regarded from the African viewpoint rather than from the European.

From the European standpoint the forces of change may be ranged in the familiar categories of government, commerce, industry, agriculture, education, medicine and public health, religion, the press, the cinema, and so forth. But to the African these are not separate categories. Their meanings are not discrete but interfused one with the other. All of them are changing the pattern of life, not in isolated areas but in its unitary wholeness. Their meaning for the African is to be found not in themselves as objective activities but in their psychological effect on African peoples. The social effect of the forces of change is the integrated resultant for the whole group of the psychological reaction of each individual, affected, of course, by the individual's sense of continual participation in the common life of the group. Hence the reaction of Africans gene-

rally to the influx of western culture must be examined.[31]

The sense of change. The dominant impression of the present period on African minds seems to be that of fundamental, limitless, irresistible and irrevocable change. To many Africans the break between the past and the future seems complete; others, less profoundly shaken, still perceive that there is no aspect of African life which may not be affected by European influence.[32] The tide of that influence seems to be continually rising; a generation has seen it sweep from the coast-lands to the heart of the continent and swell from a thin trickle of pioneers to a flood of interests and activities that exemplify very nearly the whole pattern of European life. All these interests continually demand and enforce the collaboration of the African himself. There is no fastness to which he can retire from them. There is no power which can turn them back. The white man's steamers ply every river, his roads and railroads penetrate the land, his wares are found in every market and his currency in every business transaction. His ideas and the words of his language subtly penetrate into current thinking, his conduct becomes an object lesson in European morals and etiquette. His demands are insatiable--for land, for labor, for taxes, for conformity to rules and customs alien to existing custom.[33] He

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31 It is impossible to present complete documentation for this section from published materials. Much of it is based on the writer's perception of African people's position and attitudes as he has lived and worked with them. Many points are borne out by the quotations of native reactions in Monica Hunter's Reaction to Conquest. (1936). Numerous articles in Africa and the International Review of Missions sustain the same general view.

32 Cf. the remark of a Poynesian woman to Dr.E.S.C.Handy: "You white people! When you come you take away everything!"

33 See chapter 2 for a discussion of these demands.

asserts an authority above that of any chief and independent of pupular will, and exacts obedience by force if need be. And when he deigns to explain his motives at all, these also lie largely in regions beyond the range of traditional African thought and knowledge: exploitation of natural wealth for personal or corporate enrichment, patriotic aspirations and the commercial or economic advancement of a European state, the Church universal, the brotherhood of man and the Kingdom of God. The African has no standing ground from which to resist the sweep of this all-embracing change.

The power of western culture. Coupled with the realization of change is the sense of the formidable power of the European. Africans have more than once said to the writer: "We are no longer capable of surprise at anything the white man may do. Too often he has performed the impossible before our very eyes." The marvels wrought by modern science are to the African sheer magic, a command over hidden power so stupendous and mystifying as to surpass all imagining. Without the background of scientific thought--with no-one to explain how these marvels have become possible, step by step, through patient study and ingenious but ever logical use of natural materials and forces--the African is confronted with the total achievement; and the only possible explanation afforded by his background is sorcery and magic. When a mission station in the lower Congo acquired a motor truck a few years ago, the first one seen in the district, one of the workmen explained it to his fellows by suggesting that the white man must have purchased the original model from the devil. The white man, being very

clever with his hands, could no doubt copy the original in every detail and make it go; but it was inconceivable that a merely human mind had invented the thing in the first place. It required considerable explanation on the part of the missionary to satisfy the group that this theory was not the thuth.

With more intimate acquaintance with the white man and his works and ways this naive conception of magical power gives place to a more rational view, but respect for his powers is not thereby diminisihed. The African covets the same powers for himself, and sets about discovering the means of securing them. There is little doubt that the African's interest in education is prompted largely by this desire for power; it is through the school that the European offers to make the African like himself. The school is the door to opportunity. If this is not true in exactly the sense inwhich the unschooled African conceives it to be, it still contains a large measure of truth, and educators are not guilty of exploiting a misapprehension in taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them. They need, however, to be on their guard lest an inherited formalism of educational method ally itself with a ritualistic concept on the part of the pupils and native teachers to produce a meaningless caricature of white education entirely divorced from the realities of African life.

A similar danger confronts the missions in their presentation of Christianity. Religion and magic are closely allied in African thought. Consequently, if the presentation of Christianity is such as in any way to suggest the use of magic, either in its ceremonies or in its teachings, the African

is very apt to distort the conceptions in the direction of his inherited tradition and read into Christianity a magical content that was not intended and perhaps not suspected by his teachers. For the time being this may tend to bring large numbers to a nominal acceptance of Christianity, but disillusionment and reaction are certain to follow.

The white man's power is seen to operate in other ways too, that require no idea of magic for comprehension. There is his formidable military strength which no African people has yet withstood successfully. There is his power of organization and administration which is creating modern states in Africa, states which by the scope of their functions and the effectiveness of their rule challenge the respect and admiration of the African. There is the power of his seemingly limitless wealth and his commercial and industrial organization, by which he can have delivered at his very door any device he wants for his work, or any luxury he craves, and by which also he sends forth vast quanitities of produce to unseen markets beyond the seas. In all these ways the white man represents power on a scale hitherto unknown to the African.

Awareness of the outer world. To the realization of change and power must be added an awakening knowledge of the outer world. Some fragmentary knowledge thereof must have been the possession of most African poeples for a long time past, for, as has been shown, casual contact with Europe and Asia is no new things. But the modern age has brought the African into touch with that outer world as never before. Some Africans have worked on ships and seen far ports, but they are few. But

nearly everyone has seen white men and heard them speak their strange languages; and many thousands of Africans have learned to speak these languages too, and even to read them and write them. The trader's wares are adapted from European models and invite the African to conform to European habits of dress, of food and cooking and table manners, of housekeeping and of craftsmanship. Legal procedure is altered more or less drastically to conform to European ideas of justice. Travel is made relatively easy, and cities and towns on the European model spring up where the white man may be seen working and living very much as he is accustomed to do at home. Schools are often modelled on European prototypes, and for want of African materials even the books may be full of the background of European life and thought. Even the Scriptures describe the life of an alien people, albeit one far more like themselves than like the European. And for those who have adopted city life and learned to read the language of government there are newpapers with world news; and there are movies which portray even the intimacies of white men's--and women's--ways among their own people. The outside world has come to the African with abundant means of self-revelation.

Distrust of the past. These three factors--realization of inevitable change, perception of the power of white culture, and growing knowledge of the outer world--unite to make the African distrust his own culture and the past life of his people. His own gods have failed him, the gods of the white man are stronger. There is nothing in the tradition of the ancestors to guide him in a new set of conditions unlike anything they ever

knew. There is a vast gulf between the present and the past, a gulf which grows ever wider until no man may pass over it.

When change breaks too suddenly over a people there is apt to be a cleavage between the older and younger generations, or between the conservative stay-at-home element and the adventurous ones who fare forth to deal with the newcomers, to work w with them, and to adopt some of their ways. This cleavage may be very painful and even disastrous to the unity and life of the tribe. By it the conservative group may lose the leadership of those who can best mediate to them the values with European culture has to offer, and so may become hopelessly reactionary and unable to adjust themselves to inevitable changes. At the same time the progressive group may be entirely too ready to discard the whole fabric of their traditional society, thus breaking too completely with the past and losing the sanctions and standards of moral life and social duty before they have begun to realize that the white man also lives by a similar code of accepted standards.

Cultural change thus involves a serious moral hazard. In the typical African society it involves a definitely religious hazard as well, since the fundamental religious conception is the continuing unity of the life of the group across the generations, a unity that binds together the dead and the living in an unceasing community of interest. When the pattern of life changes too radically that community of interest is broken. The tie between ancestor and descendent is loosed, the old ceremonies become meaningless and are neglected, the unity of the family or clan is impaired by the loss of the religious sanction. In many

areas, particularly near the west coast, this has already happened long ago; in other regions it is happening today. It is perhaps one of the inevitable consequences of the advent of western culture, in which the individual counts for so very much more than any social group.

It should be noted that modern medicine may be particularly shattering to the prestige of the traditional culture. To such a degree is this true that it will require special consideration in a subsequent chapter.[34] For medicine strikes directly at those aspects of life in which the power of magic was most directly and legitimately exercised, and it puts the white physician directly into competition with the Native practitioner who was essentially a worker of magic. Insofar, therefore, as white medicine effects results beyond the power of Native medicine, it brings the latter into disrepute, and with it the whole structure of magic and religious belief which was related thereto.

The result of all these factors is the breakdown, partial,or complete, of the traditional patterns of life. This is evident on every hand. Illustrations of it have already been cited, but certain particular aspects of it require discussion.

Aspects of the breakdown of Native culture.

1. Decline of arts and crafts. The first of these is the decline of Native arts and crafts. Trade goods are attractive because of their novelty, their convenience, their cheapness, and sometimes their prestige value. It is often easier to earn money to buy the new than to perform the labor involved in making

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34 See chapter 5.

the older, home-made equivalent. Moreover the general mind-set of contempt toward the past often enhances the seeming desirability of the foreign article and makes one oblivious to the beauty or worth of the product of Native craftsmanship. So whole crafts go into the discard and in a generation or two their methods and skills are lost beyond recall. This has happened to the iron-worker's craft in many parts of Central Africa, and to copper-smithing too. The weaving of grass-cloth is being forgotten; and the traditional woven patterns of some tribes, with their meanings, would already have been lost had not white men intervened to save them. So one might continue. It is clearly a problem for the educator to conserve these arts and crafts as far as they may be reclaimed and made significant in relation to the life of the present and the future. To this end a change of attitude toward the past on the part of both teacher and community is probably more important than any technical consideration whatever.

2. Substitution of alien authority. A second aspect of cultural breakdown is involved in the substitution of an alien authority for that of the group itself through its own leaders.[35] Experience has taught the colonial governments the wisdom of caution at this point, and it is now a recognised practice for colonial authorities to confirm in office chiefs and notables selected by the people according to their traditional customs, and to govern through them. Of course this is impossible in the case of urban communities or other groups where the traditional pattern of political organization does not exist.

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35 This question is discussed at lengeth in chapter 2, and the policies of various colonial governments are outlined.

And the fact that there is a continual coming and going between tribal and non-tribal communities makes the task of the chief much more difficult, because recognition of his authority is no longer the unquestioned matter of course that it once was.

But even within the local community the fact that authority is derived ultimately from the ruling white power rather than from the group itself and its own customs and traditions fundamentally alters the relation of the individual to that authority.[36] The sense of responsibility to the group is weakened; and the solidarity of the group toward offenses is undermined by the sense that the offense is directed against that neublous externality, the state, rather than against themselves. Even the codification of Native law tends to promote this sense of externality, for it results in the idea that the law is what is written, because it is so written, and no longer because the group wills it to be so.

The position of the chief under indirect rule is one of no small difficulty, for he must be an interpreter in both directions between his people and the ruling power, but it may be productive of great gain in understanding and very effective collaboration when both the chief and the government will it to be so.

3. Changes in land tenure. One of the invariable results of European penetration is a change in the ideas and practices relating to land tenure.[37] The first comers assumed that African chiefs could sell land or grant rights of occupation in much the same way that European landlords could do. It did not occur to

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36 Cf. Westermann, D.: The African Today (London, Oxford University Press, 1934) pp.171-77.

37 Idem, pp.71-79.

them that there might be another conception of land tenure than that to which they were accustomed. Only very gradually has it been realized: first, that purchase and sale of land was entirely foreign to African coneptions, as customary law recognized no grant beyond the right of occupation for the period of effective use; second, that the chiefs or local authorities act not as owners but as trustees on behalf of the clan or other unit in assigning land for use; and third, that practically every bit of land and water was owned by some group in the sense that the group claimed control over it for certain purposes, such as hunting, fishing, wood-cutting, gardening, gathering wild produce, and the like. In ignorance of these facts colonial governments adopted land policies more or less at variance with Native custom. On the one hand they granted inclusive rights to concession-seeking companies, and the latter interpreted their charters in a way that infringed or denied Native rights of long standing. On the other hand they introduced landlordism and private ownership of land on the European model, as in Uganda where Sir Harry Johnston's settlement in 1900 created a class of landlords and reduced the bulk of the population to the status of tenants. Individual ownership is still regarded by some colonial governments as the only mode of land tenure compatible with civilization;[38] but many students

38 Cf. the following statement by the Governor General of French Equatorial Africa: "I desire that the administrators should... recall that our legislation accords to natives the right to enjoy lands needed.... The individual may...become a rural proprietor. A permit to occupy ten hectares may...be transformed into a definite title with...the right to transmit the property....I have decided to encourage our servants, our ex-soldiers to become landed proprietors, so strongly do I consider the evolution of French Equatorial Africa to be bound up with the effort of development which should be aroused in them." See Annuaire de Documentation Coloniale Comparée, 1934. v.2, p.273.

believe that a frank recognition of African communal tenure is not only practicable but desirable.

4. Monetary economy. The introduction of money and a monetary economy is sometimes regarded as an important factor in the breaking down of traditional culture patterns, but its significance may perhaps be exaggerated.[39] Africans have long been accustomed to use currency of some kind, both as a measure of value and as a tool for facilitating exchange of goods. European currencies are superior in practical convenience, but not new in principle. The important point is probably not the question of the use of money, but the dissemination of certain new complexes of ideas relative to values in money and property. One of these is the strongly individual attitude toward property which dominates western culture--white men emphasise personal ownership, personal wealth, and the right of the individual to dispose of his property or funds as he chooses. These ideas were far from dominant in Bantu life, which emphasized corporate responsibility and trusteeship, making the individual responsible to his family or a larger group for whatever possessions he might have. A second dominant note in white culture is the high value which it places on wealth itself. A large proportion of the Europeans whom the African sees are frankly engaged in the pursuit of wealth, and tend to sacrifice many other values for its attainment. This also is an idea foreign to the African mind, generally speaking, in the past. These ideas are not necessarily inherent in a monetary economy, they are rather the characteristics of capitalistic white culture of the present time. It is,accordingly, not the introduction of money itself

39 Cf. Gutmann,B.: The African Viewpoint. Africa, v.8, pp.1-17.

that has conveyed these ideas to the African, but the example of white people, their obvious attitudes, choices, and habits of mind even more than their teaching.

Because the African is less avid for wealth and possessions than most white people it has been easy to stigmatize him as lazy, thriftless, and irresponsible; and Europeans have regarded it as their duty to train him in habits of thrift and industry. While admitting that these virtues have their place in a well-balanced character, in Africa no less than in Europe or America, it may be well to ponder whether western culture is not excessively preoccupied with material possessions to the exclusion of other values--notably the alert social conscience of the African. If this be so a balance rathern than a complete conversion to the norms of western culture is to be sought.

5. The effect of urban life. The process of social disintegration proceeds farthest and fastest under urban conditions. Here tribal authority is completely in abeyance; European law, customs, and enforcement prevails. Here western culture expresses itself most completely and intensely; the tribal African is the alien, the European is at home. Here there is no land for cultivation, wage-earning is the basis of existence, wealth is the key to privilege, society is stratified in terms of income. Adjustment to these conditions means conformity to the European pattern in all essentials, and to a type of that pattern which includes the slum conditions of extreme poverty for the many in contrast to luxury for the few. European individualism dominates the scene, there is not even the semblance of any clan life to evoke social responsibility and cohesion, or to apply the sanction of public disapproval. Nor is this

effect limited to those who live permanently in the cities; it remains as a dynamic experience in the lives of the many thousands who return, permanently or periodically, to the tribal community. And so it tends to further the disintegration of tribal society by bringing to bear the criticism of the sophisticated onlooker, no longer entirely at one with the group as a whole. The same result may follow in a proportionately lesser degree from a sojourn at a mission school or from employment on a plantation or other enterprise under semi-rural conditions.

In all such cases the African is brought into close touch with non-Africans in living relationships--pupil and teacher, workman and overseer, fellow participants in the daily adventure of living--and the African penetrated more or less deeply into the world of thought and ideas in which the white man lives; and compares them with his own. Thus he returns to his community insome degree changed by his experience. Since this happens not to a few isolated individuals, but to many or most of the young people, especially the men and boys, there is a continual ferment of questioning and critical self-examination in the Native community. It does not follow automatically that beneficial change will result, but it should certainly be a part of the function of the school to stimulate the type of self-criticism and to suggest the aims and avenues of progress which will enable returning students to contribute to the advance of their communities.

Readjustment and integration. The foregoing discussion of cultural breakdown leads directly to the final aspect of the situation to be discussed in this chapter; namely the

efforts being made to achieve a reorientation and resynthesis of Native life. Man does not willingly remain in a state of doubt and stress, nor does society. There is always an attempt at readjustment. In making that adjustment some principle analogous to the law of least work in physics seems to operate--the change will be that which involves the least total effort on the part of the members of the group. The working of that law has already been illustrated: under urban conditions the dominant European norms prevail with little concession to African patterns of life; in village life the conservative tradition gives way only as rapidly as people lose faith in it or find it imapplicable to new conditions. But it is giving way, and the African is confronted with the need of finding a new loyalty or faith or ruling motive about which to shape his life.

A number of alternatives present themselves as possible foci for the reorientation of life. There is first of all the possibility of retreat into conservatism, the jealous preservation of the tribal tradition, safeguarded by an alert hostility toward all innovation. This is the least satisfactory solution, since it renders eventual accomodation to changed conditions more and more difficult with the passage of time, and since it makes collaboration between the group and outsiders practically impossible.[40]

A second solution takes the opposite extreme, and looks to the complete discard of the African tradition and pettern of life and the adoption of those of Europe. Some white people

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40 Cf. Cook, P.A.W.: The Education of a South African Tribe. (Cape Town, Juta & Co. 1934.) pp.21-24, 41-44.

and some Africans regard this as the desirable solution; others conceive it to be the only possible outcome of the processes of change which are at work. If,however,one considers the size of central Africa, the widely distributed population, and the sparcity of Europeans except in urban centers, it is hard to see how the European patterns in their entirety are to be transferred to all parts; and, moreover, their irrelevance to the conditions of life in rural Africa becomes evident.

It would appear more probable that the law of least work will operate to produce something intermediate between the European and African pattern of culture. Cities will continue to be more European in tone than the country, but even in the cities African culture patterns will tend to re-assert themselves as the African section of the population rises in importance and prestige as compared with the European element. The garish and exotic character of urban life imported en bloc from Europe will give place to a blend more in keeping with the scene. On the other hand village life may be expected to adjust in the direction of the European pattern. Whether the ultimate result will be as close a similarity between urban and rural life as exists, for example, in America, is questionable, but profound modifications in village conditions seem probable.

The moral character of the new African society is even more important than its material form. It has been shown that the forces of change combine to undermine the basis of social morality and religion even more profoundly than they affect material culture. Psychological and moral breakdown precedes and accompanies every outward change; so also the reorientation of life is essentially a problem of psychological

attitudes and of moral and religious bases rather than merely a question of material satisfactions or intellectual attainment.

There are three distinct bases of moral orientation in the modern world: the secular, the nationalistic, and the religious. All of these are making bids for the African's allegience. Secularism is the obvious attitude of many white men with whom the African comes in contact; it is the implication, to the African mind, of the non-religious character of European science and technology; in fact it is implicit in many aspects of European behavior which tacitly deny the relevance of religious considerations. Africans have been accustomed to base practically all acts in religion. They find Europeans less religious in practice than themselves, and so the abandonment of religion as non-essential and irrelevant may very readily result from the contact of races. The result is apt to be the complete loss of moral principles and santions at a time when they are particularly needed as points of reference amid the general change.

Nationalistic patriotism is beyond question one of the dominant characteristics of western culture at the present time. Colonial governments have very naturally sought to instill in the minds of Africans an attitude of love and devotion toward the colonizing power. The bearings and implications of this procedure will receive consideration in the next chapter. It will suffice here to note that the colonizing power means to the African something very different than to the European. Africans, especially children, may respond readily to the suggestion of patriotic loyalty; but that loyalty cannot for them

embrace the loyalties to family, clan, home and tribe, as it does to the European. It is therefore at least questionable whether patriotism directed toward a European power can be the moral influence in their lives that it is to many Europeans.

Finally, religion presents its claim to the African's allegience as the focus of life. Islam is relatively unimportant, it exists in force only in parts of East Africa, and even there is not making great headway. Christianity is active throughout central Africa, as has been shown. The character of its activity and its significance for the re-synthesis of African life will be fully discussed in later chapters. It is by no means a negligible factor, but is profoundly influencing African life and culture at many points already, and may be expected to do so increasingly. Every thoughtful African recognizes its importance; and many acknowledge its claim to their supreme allegience as the Way to wholesome and effective living, and as the Light which makes plain the road through the confusions and conflicts of this present period and gives life meaning.

Thus the external world is beating upon African life with new intensity, and African life and culture are giving way before it at certain points. But the African is by nature resilient, and African culture is by no means dead or inert. It will in turn react upon the culture that comes to it and make its contribution--and no small contribution--to the synthesis that may eventually be expected to take form. The following chapters will consider in greater detail in what ways the interactions between government and missions on the one hand and Native life on the other are preparing the way for that synthesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE AIMS OF COLONIAL OCCUPATION

In this chapter it is proposed to survey briefly the aims and objectives of colonial governments in central Africa, and of the various secular agencies which have established themselves there. No exhaustive treatment of government acts and policies can be attempted; that has already been undertaken by others,[1] and would lead the present study too far afield. But an appreciation of the typical attitudes of governments and colonials toward the Native peoples is basic to all that follows, so a general summary of these factors must be made.

Attitudes more significant than acts. Here as elsewhere human attitudes and motives are more significant than the outward acts to which they give rise. The acts may vary according to attendant circumstances; motives tend to endure with little change. In the contact of races or peoples each group is influenced by what it believes to be the prevalent attitudes and motives of the opposite group. Every outward act is interpreted as an index of motives, and relationships are thus determined by the subtle interplay of attitudes which underlies the visible phenomena of contact. Moreover the primary

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1 In particular: Buell, Leslie: The Native Problem in Africa. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1928, 2.v.) and Mair, Lucy P.: Native Policies in Africa. (London, Routledge, 1936.)

motives of all peoples are fundamentally similar, so they form the basis for mutual understanding and intercourse among peoples who differ in culture, language and race. So unconsciously is this assumed to be true that where one observes an action which, being rooted in a different culture, is not entirely intelligible in its meaning, he instinctively ascribes it to some familiar pattern of his own culture and thus runs the risk of misapprehending its true import. This is the familiar "anthropologist's fallacy," but the anthropologist is no more liable to this type of mistake than the most untutored villager. It is a common weakness of mankind, against which colonial authorities ought continually to be on their guard. Not only should the motives of their dealings with indigenous peoples be above suspicion; the agents entrusted with those dealings ought also to be men gifted with such sympathy and tact, probity and honor, frankness and courage, as to win the respect and trust of the Natives. A single example will suffice to illustrate the way in which suspicion of hidden motives may obstruct effective collaboration.

> In [Northern Tanganyika] a good deal of alienated land is still unoccupied. . . . General resentment is felt against the Government, and any measure remotely associated with the tenure of land is viewed with suspicion. An inquiry into the tribal system, carried out in 1929 as part of a general survey of the Territory with a view to respecting Native rights, was obstructed for some time by a boycott; and more recently, the offer by the Government of European seedling trees, to be planted along river banks as a protection against erosion, was refused on the ground that once planted they could be made a pretext for claiming the land on which they stood.[2]

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2 Mair: op. cit., p. 139; based on Annual Report to the League of Nations, 1922, p. 51.

The attitude of the African toward the white man who have forced their way into his country is thus conditioned at every point by his judgment as to their motives and intentions. Like any other rational human being he will be favorably or unfavorably disposed toward an innovation according as it appeals to his own self-interest or not, and as to whether it is made in an atmosphere of friendly collaboration or under the threat of compulsion. These considerations would seem to be self-evident, but they are all too frequently disregarded by colonial administrators and others who have dealings with peoples of a different cultural background.

Colonial developments largely unforeseen. European intervention in Africa is a dominant fact of the present situation. It is noteworthy that the development of vast colonial empires was not the original aim of such intervention. Trading ventures led to settlements along the coast. The settlements gradually acquired interests of one kind or another in the hinterland. European powers came to the aid of their nationals in defense either against threatening Native groups or against other European powers. Rather suddenly it became a matter of national prestige to secure spheres of influence in Africa, out of which protectorates and colonies as they exist today were born.[3]

There is much in this story to recall the African fable of the perpetually hungry man who used to hunt for food in his wife's pots while she was absent in the gardens. One day she placed a charm on the food pot, so that when her hus-

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3 See pp. 26-27 supra.

band thrust in his hand the pot stuck to it and he could not get it off. So the nations of Europe have thrust their hands into African affairs, and, once involved, have found themselves unable to withdraw from the complex issues and problems which colonization involves. The original aims were often ill-defined and sometimes of only transitory importance, but subsequent experience and reflection has given rise to fairly definite conceptions and programs of colonial policy. The man in the parable was forced to accede to all manner of demands on the part of his wife before she consented to release his hand from the pot. Similarly, many observers regard present colonial activities as but the first stage of a long process of interaction between European nations and culture and the peoples and institutions of Africa, a process which may involve the nations in responsibilities far in excess of the advantgges they expect to derive from the colonies, but from which, once undertaken, there is no escape.[4]

Dominant issues. The ultimate outcome which is envisaged varies with nationality and personal ideology; and the policies developed in various parts of Africa are correspondingly varied. In general there are two main determinants of viewpoint and policy: on the one hand the degree to which Whites are to be permitted to own land in an area and have a share in its administration through representative government; on the other hand the question whether Native social institutions are to be conserved and developed from within, or forced to give place to European substitutes. These two issues are inter-

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4 Cf. the view of M. Sarraut quoted on page 2. Is M. Sarraut perhaps implying that from the standpoint of European self-interest colonies are more often liabilites than assets?

dependent, and local policies are further complicated by heritages from earlier stages of development, and by accidents of geography, international treaties and obligations, and the personalities of officials and statesmen. The scrutiny of international public opinion, especially as exercised through the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Temporary Slavery Commission and the International Labour Office, has also become a significant factor in shaping colonial policies.

Beyond doubt the hope of profit was the motive that induced European powers to interest themselves in Africa. The peoples of that vast continent were regarded as potential purchasers for the surplus goods produced by the industrial nations of Europe. The lucrative but discredited slave trade left its legacy in the plantation system. It was believed that central Africa constituted a great natural reservoir of cheap labor, which, if it could not legitimately be transported overseas for exploitation, could still be utilized at home, with the added advantage that the employer need not transport his laborers, nor provide for them when incapacitated through sickness or age. There were also known to be great tracts of forest lands which were expected to produce products of great value at low cost. Companies were formed for exploitation and trade. Government was at first sometimes regarded as merely ancillary to the extension of trade and production; especially by the great concessionary companies. Colonial governments are still largely dependent on commercial activity for their revenues. Every country in central Africa, with the sole exception of Uganda, is still contending with problems which have their

roots in the concession and plantation system. It will be convenient to discuss this series of problems first, before passing on to those relating to the status and development of the Native peoples.

WHITE COLONIZATION AND ATTENDANT PROBLEMS

Distribution of white population. Wherever climatic and geographical conditions have been such as to make permanent white habitation possible there have not been wanting those who seek to make Africa a "White Man's Country." This has been the avowed policy of the Union of South Africa, but the tropical climate of central Africa has restricted the areas where such colonization is possible to the highlands of Kenya and northern Tanganyika and those of Angola, the Katanga and the Shiré. The groups of settlers who have obtained land in these regions quite naturally regard all governmental activities from the standpoint of their own interests, and desire to see those interests made paramount in the whole policy of development of the colonies.

In regions less adapted to white settlement there are likewise important white interests, such as plantations and related extractive industries, mines and refineries, and trading concessions. These employ numerous white agents, represent heavy investments of capital, and exploit concessions and monopolies granted by Government. These agencies also tend to regard Government as the adjunct of their own activity, its principal duty being to facilitate the exploitation of Africa's

resources by providing transport, enforcing public order, encouraging the Natives to work, and performing other similar services.

Attitude of white interests toward Natives. In both these types of activity the main interest is in ecomomic exploitation and profit. In the former case the profit accrues wholly or mainly to white residents within the colony, in the latter case it benefits principally the absentee stockholders residing in Europe. In either case the Native is essentially a tool, a mere hand to do the work. The condition of successful exploitation is abundant cheap labor. The Native, accordingly, is to be encouraged and perhaps constrained to work for the white man; he is to be accustomed to regular, hard and monotonous labor; he is to be required to attain that skill, literacy and knowledge of a European language which will make him a more useful and productive employee. But he must not become too skilful or too knowing lest he compete with the white man in the superior grades of employment. He must not be permitted to rise in the economic scale lest profits vanish. He must not attain political influence lest the whole system be overturned.[5]

The extreme instance of this conflict of interests and motives is of course to be found in the Union of South Africa. In Central Africa the settlers in the Highlands of Kenya form the most vocal group of exponents of the same conception of white supremacy, but they have not yet succeeded in gaining control of the colonial government.[6]

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5 Cf. Mair: op. cit., p.262 et passim.

6 Cf. Ross, W. McGregor: Kenya from Within. passim.

Demands of white interests. The advocates of development for the benefit of white settlers or corporate interests make three major demands on government in furtherance of their ends: (1) That large tracts of land be alienated from Native ownership for their use. (2) That the government use its authority to provide Native laborers in sufficient numbers for their needs. (3) That white residents or interests be given a voice in the councils of government. The degree to which various colonies have acceded to these demands affords a ready index to the type of policy which each pursues. In general the earliest period of occupation was marked by a reckless and sometimes ruthless exploitation, which has given place to a more guarded and conservative policy as the result of experience.

Alienation of land. In the Union of South Africa the alienation of land was made part of a definite policy aimed at forcing the Natives into employment on the farms and in the industries of the Whites. The Whites, numbering 23% of the population, control 92% of the land; i.e., there is a white population equivalent to four per square mile of land under white control, against a Native population of 177 per square mile of Native land.[7] Nowhere in central Africa has alienation been carried to this extreme, though in Northern Rhodesia the lands reserved for European use amount to 1.3 square miles per white

7 All figures in this section are derived from the statistical appendix in Mair's book. For South Africa they do not, of course, give quite a fair picture, since they represent only the legal status of the land and not the actual terms of occupancy or usefulness. Many Natives live as squatters on technically White land. Huge desert areas are also technically White land. But the disproportion is still serious. Recent legislation is designed to make available additional land for Native occupancy.

inhabitant,and in Nyasaland 3.4 square miles. In Kenya the average density of population is 1.03 Whites per square mile of land reserved for White use, against 58.5 Natives per square mile reserved for Native use, but there are still large areas not definitely reserved to either race. Belgian Congo contains some very large concessions to private enterprises, but within these there are areas reserved for village cultivation; and Native rights to wild produce are recognized. The area of the colony is so great in proportion to its population that the concessions do not restrict Native agriculture. However, in recent years the more thorough investigation of Native communal claims has greatly restricted the amount of land legally available for concession to Europeans. Land alienation on the scale practised in central Africa is more liable to evoke complaint on the part of pastoral peoples who find their cattle ranges restricted than on the part of agricultural peoples with their relatively sedentary habits.

Generally speaking the present colonial governments are thoroughly alive to the dangers of excessive alienation, and tend to restrict both the number and the size of grants. The greatest pressure they have to withstand at present is not a demand for agricultural lands but for mining concessions. The discovery of valuable minerals on a Native reserve has more than once led to the concession of lands which had already been formally set aside to Native use "in perpetuity." It is hardly surprising that Natives who have been subjected to such treatment regard government land policies with suspicion, or that they are loathe to reveal the existence of mineral deposits on their lands.

Concessions vs. Native industries. A special problem arises when Native production contravenes the literal terms of some monopoly granted to European concession holders. The importance of Native competition is usually so slight as to be negligible, but over-zealous officials have occasionally felt it necessary to forbid Natives to engage in crafts such as iron-working or copper-smelting which were technically reserved to the companies. In some cases this has resulted in the destruction of Native handicrafts which it would have been well to preserve and foster.

Labor recruiting. Plantations and industries in earlier days definitely looked to the government, in most colonies, for their labor supply. Slavery was outlawed, but systems of coercion scarcely distinguishable from it took its place. Native peoples often had little incentive to work for the white man--their wants were easily supplied at home. They could be exceedingly industrious on occasion, but they delighted in alternating such periods of intense activity with times of indolence and relaxation which the nervously industrious European stigmatized as tokens of laziness and depravity. Colonists and colonial governments were therefore driven to take refuge in the doctrine that labor is a moral duty, and that they were performing an inherently meritorious act in teaching the Native to exchange his unproductive idleness for havits of industry. This view is still widely held, and some colonial governments still exert pressure on the Native in one way or another to induce him to work for a European employer. The law of Angola, for instance, is replete with references to the "obligation to

labor", and the Portuguese views were expressed before the Permanent Mandates Commission in the following terms:

> If [the Native] attempts to go on living under his present conditions, if he prefers his former habits of ease and idleness, then the Mandatory must intervene and give him to understand that work is a law of nature, and that, in communities which hope to prosper, idleness is a punishable offense."[8]

In Belgian Congo the government was long obligated to assist certain concessions to obtain labor, and government officers either served as recruiting offers in person or lent the weight of their influence as company recruiters went through the villages. It is only since 1925 that this practice has been discountenanced, and the violent protests of commercial interests have compelled the government to relax its pressure only very gradually. The government has, however, carefully investigated how great a labor supply may be drawn from the villages without detriment, and concluded that a much smaller proportion should be so recruited than has generally been supposed, viz. 5% of the able-bodied males for contract labor at a distance, 5% more for work within two days' travel distance, and 15% for work in the immediate neighborhood.[9] Undoubtedly the total of 25% has often been exceeded, even for work at a distance; but the Congo government stands almost alone in having restricted the expansion of European enterprises out of regard for Native welfare, and in having forbidden recruiting in areas from which excessive numbers of men had already been drawn.

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8 Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 7. p. 200.

9 International Labour Office: The Recruiting of Labour. (1935) pp.22-25.

French Equatorial Africa has a relatively small population (about 3,000,000) on which excessive labor demands have been made, both for plantations and industries[10] and for railway construction. The latter, conceived as a military and economic necessity to free the French colony from dependence on the Belgian-owned railway in the Bas-Congo, resulted in appalling exactions. The contractor was guaranteed a labor force of 8000, but even 4000 could not be supplied continuously without recourse to compulsion even in remote parts of the colony. Provision for transport was not made and large numbers died on the way to work. The serious effects of change of dietary and living conditions were ignored. When local officials protested at the necessity of using compulsion they were instructed to conscript the numbers needed "despite the unfortunate consequences which must inevitably result." [11]

In French colonies the Natives are also liable to fifteen days compulsory labor per year for local public works, and there is in addition a type of compulsory service in labor battalions in lieu of military service.

Both French and Belgian authorities have used compulsion in introducing the cultivation of new crops[12] such as cotton and certain fibres, from which it is expected that the Natives themselves will ultimately benefit economically. If the economic benefit is real the period of compulsion should not need to be great, but it appears to be open to question whether in

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10 I.L.O.: The Recruiting of Labour, pp.71-73.

11 I.L.O.: Forced Labour (1929). pp.89-90.

12 Idem, p.27,29. Cf. also Mair, op. cit., pp.194-98, 235-40.

certain instances the benefit does not accrue principally to the companies which have been organized to deal with the crops so produced.

In East Africa except Kenya the governments have consistently taken the position, at least since the war, that would-be employers must offer sufficient inducements in the way of wages and attractive labor conditions to attract such personnel as they require. Taxation and the desire for money with which to buy clothes and the like have been "sufficient inducements" to provide an adequate number of laborers. Nyasaland, in fact, has been driven to encourage Native agriculture as an alternative to the annual emigration of large number of young men to the mines of Rhodesia and Katanga. In Kenya, however, the demands of the relatively large number of settlers have exceeded the willingness of the Natives to engage to work, and various methods of "encouraging recruitment" have been attempted. Officials and chiefs have been instructed to use "every possible lawful influence" to this end, and a record is kept of headmen who are "helpful" and "not helpful" in this regard.[13] Every Native is liable to sixty days public labor (paid) per year on works of public urgency, but this obligation is waived in the case of those who have worked for three months in the previous year.[14] (But this work need not be for a European.) Native agriculture on the reserves has been left undeveloped lest it "decrease the flow of labor." Settlers have

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13 Labour Circular No.1. (Nairobi, 23d October, 1919). Quoted in extenso by Ross, op. cit. pp. 103-105.

14 I.L.O., Forced Labour, p. 31.

opposed the cultivation of coffee out of fear that native coffee will spread disease or lower prices through inferior grading,[15] but the fear of diverting labor to native agriculture in competition with themselves is doubtless involved.

Various official commissions have maintained the view that Native interests should be paramount in Kenya as they are recognized to be in Tanganyika. The East Africa Commission of 1924 held that:

> no individual has an inherent right to obtain labour and the hazard whether he can or cannot obtain labour . . . is one of the chances which must be taken into consideration by the non-Native when embarking on any particular form of capital investment.[16]

The Hilton Young Commission of 1927 went even farther in criticising the "dual policy" of attempting to develop the colony in the interests of white settlers and Natives conjointly. It enunciated the principle that:

> the creation and preservation of a field for the full development of Native life is a first charge on any territory, and that the Government having created this field has the duty to devote all available resources to assisting the Natives to develop within it. But if, after having secured what is necessary for the above purpose, there appears to be room for immigrant settlers . . . then immigration can be permitted and even encouraged.[17]

British opinion is thus tending to take seriously the view of responsibility or trusteeship toward Native peoples inhabiting its territories, and to limit correspondingly the freedom of settlers and commercial interests to pursue profits

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15 Experience in Tanganyika has negatived both of these objections. Cf. Huxley, Julian: Africa View.

16 Cmd. 2387 (1925), p. 45.

17 Cmd. 3234 (1929), p. 40.

regardless of the effect of their activity on those peoples. Similar considerations are also operative in relation to the Belgian colonial labor policy, and are beginning to be applied also by the French in belated recognition of the consequences of unlimited demands upon the peoples of their colonies.

White influence on government. It is only natural that settlers and commercial interests, conceiving colonial development largely in terms of the economic exploitation in which they themselves figure so prominently, should desire to take a hand in the affairs of government. The Kenya settlers have been quite outspoken in making such demands, which, if granted, would place them in the position of a ruling caste, like their brethren in South Africa. The Hilton Young Commission insisted that

> . . . powers can . . . be entrusted only to a Council in which not only the immigrant communities but the native reserves are adequately represented. What the immigrant communities may justly claim is partnership, not control.[18]
>
> . . . a Central Authority [should be an] . . . efficient arbitral influence to hold the balance between the conflicting interests of racial communities.[19]

In Tanganyika the government has refused to consider the granting of representative government to the Whites until the Natives have advanced to a stage where they can be given a corresponding voice in their own affairs. Toward this end it is actively developing Native institutions and training Native leaders in the responsibilities of self-government.

It is less easy to judge how far commercial interests

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18 Cmd. 3234 (1929) p.239.

19 Idem, p. 244.

control or influence the workings of the French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial administrations, since these colonies are administered largely from the European capitals where much secret manipulation may take place. In the case of the Belgian administration it is known that the government made contracts with certain private companies for the construction of railways and port facilities which resulted in huge profits for the companies and relatively little benefit to the colony.[20] The colony is also under the obligation of guaranteeing dividends to the railways and certain other transport agencies. These measures resulted in extreme financial embarrassment in the depression years from 1930 onward. The liberal terms of certain concessions also suggests that influences may have been at work behind the scenes in the Colonial Office; but this is hardly surprising in view of the concentration of great wealth and power in the hands of a small group of capitalists and promoters. The small planter or settler is not a significant figure in Congo. Most of the smaller enterprises were forced into bankruptcy by the depression, or have been absorbed by the great trusts which already controlled the principal industrial and mining activities. The same is probably true in large measure in respect to French Equatorial Africa and Angola. Certain it is that both of these colonies contain huge concessions which appear to be the object of much governmental solicitude.

There is no central African colony so organized that the resident white interests have a direct and dominant voice

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20 Annuaire de Documentation Coloniale Comparée. 1934. v.1, pp.104-26.

in the affairs of government. The tendency is for the mother country to exercise control, with limited autonomy to local officials. While this safeguards the colony from the dominance of any single group of interests (or may do so), it also involves the subjection of colonial policy and interests to the national politics and ideology of the homeland, and thus introduces factors irrelevant and possibly inimical to the wise development of the colony.

Control from a distance also tends to promote beaurocracy, and thus to stifle development. The weakness of the French administration in this respect is admitted by Marchal Lyautey, one of the most outstanding French colonial officers, in the following terms:

> Political administrations . . . continue to regard colonial affairs from the height of their disdain. Colonies are poor relations whom one must take the trouble to oblige, or they are thought of as a drain down which may be poured the surplus of functionaries in the homeland.
>
> These functionaries, whatever their technical worth, too often carry into new countries the indelible fault of a professional deformation, which is one of the most dangerous defects of our mentality. They expect to administer these countries according to their established habits, and their assumption is that colonies are made for administrators and not administrators for colonies.
>
> But these new countries are peopled with Natives. Truly we possess remarkable corps of specialists in Native policy, who ask only to give themselves thereto wholeheartedly; but, too often, they find themselves crushed under obligatory paper-work imported from the homeland; and are forced to devote the best of their time to that because on the appearance of their papers will be based the opinion of those examiners and accountants who, as everyone knows, manage increasingly to put themselves in the place of executives. Form kills reality, the letter kills the spirit, for the satisfaction of the beneficiaries of an aged and decrepit system which . . . is simply fatal when exported overseas.
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> And yet, we shall not develop--we shall not even keep our colonial empire . . . save at the price of an unremitting Native policy.[21]

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21 Lyautey, Marchal: Après l'exposition coloniale. Revue des deux mondes. 1933, January. p.53-54.

NATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS

From the inception of modern colonization one of its objectives has been the amelioration of the lot of Native peoples. Exactly what form it was to take has not always been clear; nor, in the face of practical exigencies, has the aim itself prevented resort to force, extortion, exploitation of labor, and other abuses. At the same time the ultimate goal of "civilizing" the African has been held in view--if not always sharply in focus--and as the potentialities of African peoples have been better appreciated their importance in the colonial scheme of things has been more clearly perceived.

Failure to respect Native institutions. Zeal for the civilization of the African has, however, too often been zeal without knowledge. The inadequacy and impermanence of Native institutions has been assumed without question or examination. The agents of civilization have been akin to those supersalesmen who regard any unwillingness to buy their wares as "sales resistance" to be broken down by any convenient method, but who never pause to inquire whether the wares will really benefit the purchaser. Only increasingly intimate knowledge of African peoples has made the Europeans somewhat aware of the subtle and elaborate fabric of African social systems, and at last brought about a partial realization of the dislocations and maladjustments that inevitably result from the impact of an alien culture.

Granting that development toward European culture is necessary and desirable, there must still be a process of adap-

tation and adjustment. One cannot leap suddenly, with the whole of one's being, from an African culture and mindset into an alien civilization.

> The methods of colonial powers have in the main been characterized by a complete unawareness of the existence of such processes of adaptation, or of any relation between social institutions and the circumstances for which a given social system has to provide. They have been actuated by an unquestioning belief in the inherent superiority of British justice, la civilisation française, Christianity, the dignity of labour, individual enterprise, the ability to utilize natural resources to the full, over any other form of government, education, religion, or economic organization, and they have set themselves to impose the institutions of which they approve on all the peoples over whom they exercise authority. They . . . have not paused to consider whether the institutions which they found were actually inadequate to the needs of the people who evolved them, and in the one direction where it was of vital importance that a satisfactory adjustment should be made--in the response of African society to the new economic forces which colonization has brought with it--they have concentrated entirely on assisting the process of penetration and left the result to take care of itself. Bringing with them a culture separated by centuries from that to which it is introduced, they have sought to substitute for the evolution by which they themselves reached it a series of strokes of the pen. They have attempted to mould a material of which they were ignorant into a form determined without reference to the ends which it would have to serve.[22]

The sting of this indictment lies not in the fact that culture contacts have taken place and that change is resulting--these are universal and inevitable characteristics of modern world society--but in the egotistical parochialism with which each colonizing power, each agent of civilization, has assumed that its own brand of culture was exactly what the African needed. It is gradually being perceived to-day that what the African needs is not precisely identical with any form of European culture whatever; nor is it predictable on the basis of any preconceived theory. Rather it must be worked out, step by

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22 Mair: op. cit., pp. 5-6.

step, through a process of collaboration between Africans and white men, both enlightened with understanding of the social process that is taking place, and both eager to utilize whatever resources of character, culture or material possessions may contribute most largely to the development of African manhood and society.

Colonial governments are, however, still largely dominated by the conceptions of Native advancement that happen to be current in their respective homelands; and still tend to assume that the spread of "civilized institutions" has intrinsic and inescapable value.

Issues in Native development. A survey of the attitude of colonial governments in Central Africa toward Native development must concern itself with three inter-related questions: what future is envisaged for the African: (1) in the field of citizenship and political life, (2) in economic activity, and (3) in matters of social cohesion and relationships. The issues of education and religion are inescapably bound up with the answers to these three questions.

The prevailing views of different nations toward their colonies differ profoundly on these points, and it will therefore be most convenient to consider the attitude of each power with respect to the whole set of issues at once. As regards central African colonies, Portugal and France stand at one extreme, and Great Britain at the other, with Belgium in an intermediate position.

French and Portuguese policy. Portugal and France have in the main followed a policy of frank assimilation, looking to the substitution, as rapidly and completely as possible, of the culture of the mother country for that of the "primitive" peoples of the colony. Both have been prepared to admit Africans who had adopted European habits into full citizenship, with political and social economy. Both have required the European language, Portuguese or French, to be used in all schools, and forbidden the use of the vernaculars in instruction.[23] Both have disregarded native institutions of government and public authority, and substituted a system of officialdom modelled on the pattern of the home government. Both have looked to the absorption of African labor into industries and plantation agriculture under white oversight, as wage-earners, rather than to the development of indigenous economic activity.

France far more than Portugal, however, has a definitely formulated theory of colonization, which is supposed to be equally applicable to all colonies, though experience and local initiative are tending to introduce divergences of practice. According to this theory the overseas colonies are simply an extension of France, their inhabitants are, potentially at least, "children of France," and it is the duty and privilege of French colonials to extend to them the glory and blessings of French civilization. Meanwhile they all owe to France the same patriotic duties as Frenchmen at home.

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23 Since 1935 this requirement has been slightly relaxed in the case of the lowest grade of primary schools in French Africa. It is recognized that there is value in teaching such subjects of hygiene intelligibly even before the pupil has learned enough French to grasp it in that language.

In practice this means that French colonies are expected to provide men, funds and raw materials, particularly for military purposes. It is through the man-power and resources of her colonies that France is able to regard herself, on paper at least, as potentially stronger than Germany. Political and military rivalry is thus the source of French interest in colonization, and this fact is fundamental in all French colonial policy.[24] It explains the insistence on the duties of colonial peoples toward the mother country--duties which are held to be abundantly recompensed by the privilege of sharing French civilization and the glory of being French. Thus the French official or citizen transfers his own habitual mental attitude to others, without pausing to consider whether the view he finds so natural will be appropriate, or even intelligible, to a member of an African tribe. The intensity of his own nationalistic feeling makes him oblivious to the same feeling in a member of another race when it is directed toward the tribal loyalties proper to that race instead of toward France. The French official sees neither inconsistency nor practical difficulty in declaring: "There are no values worth conserving in the Native culture; we propose to substitute that of France." The superiority of French civilization is to a Frenchman an article of faith rather than a reasoned conclusion. M. Sarraut, while admitting that each colonial system had something to learn from the other, expressed the French view in the following terms:

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24 Sarraut, A.: L'Oeuvre coloniale de la France. In Franck, L.: Etudes de colonization comparée, t. 1, pp.4-29. Especially pp.5-9.

> You err, perhaps, by excess of scepticism about the feasibility of transforming souls long steeped in heredity. We may err in our turn by excess of faith in the virtue of doctrines and the logic of principles. You build day by day on what already exists. We dream of new and rectilinear architectures. You listen especially to the prudent but rather cold counsel of experience. We warm our action in the flame of apostleship. You, in sum, wish the Native races to place themselves in a condition to make their own happiness. We wish ourselves to make their happiness, urgently and with authority.[25]

In practice this complete break with the past and substitution of French civilization for the old African culture has proved possible only for a very small number of town-dwellers; and French policy has been little concerned to provide for the advance of the mass of the people. The system is interested in the few élite individuals, who, profiting by French civilization and rewarded with citizenship, are to be associated with the government in its "civilizing mission" toward the rest of the people. Just how they are to assist is not clear, perhaps by the force of their example. The mass of the people are submitted to various compulsions and demands, including labor for public purposes[26] and food production on public plantations as well as taxation and military service; all of this in fulfilment of their duties toward France. But no effective change of status is open to them until they or their children shall, through prolonged contact with white people and education and industry, be entitled likewise to claim citizenship. Meanwhile the old institutions are crumbling away, undermined by the white man's assumption of superiority and battered by the imposition of

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25 Sarraut, A.: Address reported in Journal of the African Society. v.32 (1933), pp.226-27.

26 I.L.O., Forced Labour. pp.89-95.

alien substitutes. Private property in land is regarded as fundamental to civilization, so the old communal holdings have no legal standing but may be divided up into plots for individual tenure on demand.[27] Native chiefs are made over into civil servants, removed completely from the framework of traditional rights and duties, and even moved from post to post regardless of tribal affiliations. French law takes the place of Native justice. Education is concerned exclusively with subject matter pertaining to French interests, and exhibits no sympathy with village life, nor any interest therein. The schools for the masses (a new development) are to teach spoken French, mental arithmetic, and hygiene. Schools for the élite teach,in the elementary stage, French, including reading and writing of French, arithmetic and thrift, hygiene and morality. From these a few go on to higher schools culminating in craft or trade schools.

Thus the mass of the people have been left with little aid or incentive toward development of any kind. Civilization has been represented in alien terms, unattractive as well as unattainable; and little of a practical nature has been done to lead the people gradually, en masse, through the difficulties of transition to a new cultural adjustment with the external world.

Neither French nor Portuguese policy has been particularly hospitable to missionary effort. Nationalistic aims have dominated thought, and secular, nationalistic civilization

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27 See page 43, footnote.

has been regarded as a sufficient goal. The importance of religion in Native life has gone unperceived, in common with the whole fabric of Native culture; and the conception of religion prevalent in the homeland has not been such as to make officials conscious of any need to include it in the civilization they bring to the African--certainly not as a matter of primary importance.

British policy. British colonial policy is less homogeneous than French and Portuguese, because it rests on no a priori set of principles. If it has any single general principle at all it is the principle of adaptation, the idea that colonial policy must everywhere be determined by local needs and conditions rather than by a universal ideal or standard. The result is a diversity of administrative pattern which the logically-minded Frenchman regards with awe and horror.

British policy does not aim to make the African over into the likeness of a European, but rather to develop him in accordance with his own aptitudes and environment. Social and political equality with Whites is thus not envisaged; race or color constitutes a permanent bar to such equality. This attitude is bitterly resented, and not without reason, by the minorities in West and South Africa who have received education and professional training equal to that of the better class of Whites, and who, under the French system, would be admitted to equal status with them.[28] For the masses of the people, still "steeped in tradition", this policy is much more suitable than that of the French; though, if interpreted narrowly and in terms

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28 Cf. Westermann, op. cit., pp.329-31.

of white self-interest it could easily lead to oppression and racial stagnation. Thus in South Africa color or race has been made the basis of all manner of discriminatory legislation and of social and economic stratification, with resultant hardship to those individual Natives who are in manner of life, views and sympathies completely Europeanized. There is an element of truth in the French conception of an élite group of Natives who find their spiritual home in the motherland of their adoption rather than in the tents of their fathers.

The British conception also has its peculiar values, especially the idea of a Native society evolving in successive stages by an inner motivation, and thus avoiding the shock and waste of wholesale cultural demolition and arbitrary transformation. This conception itself has emerged gradually through successive stages of experience in various areas. It has had little scope in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, where white interests predominate. It has struggled to recognition in Kenya against the claims of the white settlers. It has made some headway in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where governments are concerned over the continual exodus of young men to the mining areas. It is being developed most effectively in the mandated area of Tanganyika, where the principle of "Trusteeship" makes the advancement of the Native peoples toward economic and political autonomy a definite responsibility of the government. A somewhat similar development of self-government is taking place in Uganda. Similar systems in Nigeria and the Gold Coast fall outside the limits of discussion.

This conception of colonial administration owes its inception to Lord Lugard, and its later extension to Sir Donald Cameron. Its essential principle is that government should continue to function through the existing Native authorities, and that these should act with genuine autonomy, not with a specious pretense of authority as puppets of the European power. Thus the rôle of the European administrator must be limited to persuasion wherever possible, and, however strong that persuasion may have to be, the local authority must still act in its own name. If this system is to be effective nothing may be required of that authority that would not be consonant with its functions in normal Native society, except as advancing political conceptions in the group permit of such extension without breaking continuity with the traditions of the past. Thus a chief could hardly be required to recruit labor for a company since no Native chief, acting as custodian of the welfare of his own group, could perform such an act. On the other hand it is quite possible for him to collect taxes (as African chiefs have always done) and to commute traditional services into taxes, for everyone understands that many things are done today through money payments and salaried officers instead of payments in kind and contributions of time and labor. Because financial administration is so important a part of modern government the authors of this system consider it essential that Native authorities should collect and disburse their revenues even from the outset.[29]

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29 Cf. Lugard, The Dual Mandate; Westermann: The African Today, pp. 171-77, Mair: Native Policies in Africa, pp.123-24.

The conception includes more than this political or administrative plan however. It is recognized that the African needs to reach economic autonomy as well as political selfhood; and to this end a system of peasant production is to be encouraged rather than labor for white employers. The rôle of white capital in such a colony as Tanganyika is principally that of establishing those industries which use the products of peasant production and prepare the products for market--industries which the Natives cannot at present provide for themselves. Competition with Native production by European plantations is regarded as uneconomic and undesirable. This whole conception of Native development has been applied most effectively in Tanganyika.

Tanganyika. Here the government has recognized the traditional chiefdoms. Political institutions which had been abrogated by previous administrations were reconstituted, their form and size varying according to the custom of the tribe. Groups of chiefs have been formed into larger units for counsel and joint administration where convenient. These councils hold their members to strict accountability for the administration of their respective districts. Since Bantu chiefs are primarily judicial authorities their powers in this respect have been confirmed (within a limited competence) and the Councils of Chiefs are expected to become courts of appeal.[30] Family tribunals have a traditional authority which is extra-legal but permitted. Native law is given full scope, on the principle that different conceptions are not necessarily repugnant to

30 Cf. the sections on Native Administration and Native Courts in the Annual Reports ... to the League of Nations. e.g., 1935, pp.8-20.

essential justice.

Urban life involves detachment from all such institutions, and it was supposed that no alternative to direct rule by European authority was possible. Beginning in 1930, however, an attempt has been made to develop local self-government based on the local community or "village" within the urban area. Headmen are selected in these areas on the basis of ability and initiative, and encouraged to assume administrative responsibilities as rapidly as they are able to. According to the latest reports on the system:

> With the exception of collecting native tax, it can be said to be working fairly satisfactorily, though the average headman is still inexperienced and as yet unaccustomed to the exercise of authority. . . . It cannot be expected that an Ndewa (i.e. headman) will hold his position, founded as it is upon the popular will, if he shows too much vigour in doing unpopular things. . . . The Ndewa of Mbezi organized his lion hunt extremely well, but unfortunately he is still incapable at present of organizing tax meetings.[31]

The view that improved village life and peasant production are desiderata to be actively striven for has led to a more practical view of education than prevails in many other colonies. A syllabus for Central Schools (followed by three government schools and recommended for Native Administration Schools) is devoted to training for village life, and designed to produce "practical handymen." English is taught as a subject only. Two industrial schools provide for the specialized craftsmen needed for urban employment; and one agricultural school specializes on coffee growing. Village vernacular schools are encouraged and subsidized. Swahili has been adopted as the lingua franca for the whole territory.

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31 Report to the League of Nations, 1935. (Colonial No. 113) p.15.

The land policy of Tanganyika is designed to preserve Native rights in land, except in so far as they had been curtailed by previous concessions. Native customary rights have the force of valid and irrevocable title. A Land Development Survey determines which areas are superfluous to Native need and suitable for European occupation, and no allienations are made except on recommendation of this body.

Uganda. Uganda presents the appearance of Indirect Rule at a more advanced stage than Tanganyika, but it is rather an imitation than an adaptation of the traditional institutions of the Baganda. The traditional organization of the kingdom of Buganda was a hierarchy of chiefs subordinate to the supreme chief or Kabaka. On his behalf they administered justice, allotted land, collected taxes and supervised public works such as road clearing. They assigned to the commoners land holdings for cultivation, and in return could demand their services for war or public works. Commoners could leave a chief at will and place themselves under the protection of another. Thus there was a reciprocal bond of tenancy and service based on the communal ownership of land and the trusteeship of the chief.

Unfortunately this was not understood by the earliest white administrators, who conceived land holding in European terms as a purely economic matter, and so created a class of landlords holding large estates in individual tenure with the right to collect rent from their tenants. These landlords were not generally the persons appointed to administrative office, as certain educational qualifications were demanded of the latter. The landlords thus formed a new class, with important revenues and no corresponding obligations; while the administrative

officers were left without that control of land which had formed the principal bond between themselves and the poeple. The commoner was under obligation to both: to the landlord for rent and to the government for taxes. This is the situation today, except as estates have been broken up and the ownership of land become more general. The basis of authority is imposition from above rather than the democratic reciprocity between chief and commoner which characterizes Bantu institutions.

Nevertheless the system has functioned in a way which bears tribute to African adaptibility and social vitality. Administrative authority for the kingdom of Buganda is centered in the Lukiko, a council of officials which is both legislature and court of appeal, and which is presided over by the Kabaka. Lesser Lukikos on the same general pattern form the local administrative units. These bodies enforce laws and decisions, collect taxes, administer sanitary and agricultural regulations and superintend public works. The initiative of the Lukiko is limited, however, by the presence of a parallel administrative scheme under the headship of the British Commissioner. This British government receives a share of the taxes, pays the chiefs, directs special services such as education and agriculture, and exerts a general oversight over the Lukiko and subordinate officers.

Outside of the kingdom of Buganda the British Commisioner is not bound by the Uganda agreement, and in the newer administrative developments in other tribes landlordism has been avoided. Title in land is good during occupancy and may pass to heirs by succession, but is not valid for rental or sale.

Native education has until recently been excessively literary, looking to professional training, and culminating in Makerere College. In 1930 a new syllabus of a more practical type was introduced for Central Schools. This emphasizes instruction in the vernacular instead of English, and practical courses in agriculture, carpentry, and elementary business and clerical work. Other schools devoted exclusively to agriculture, and open to adults as well as youths, are designed to deal only with practices which can be carried out under village conditions. The needs of African rural communities are to have preference over the artificial standards of traditional education, and the emphasis will no longer be on the small minority who can attain to higher education of the European type.[32]

Thus Uganda takes its place with Tanganyika as an area in which the development and evolution of the Native community toward economic and political self-realization is regarded as a practicable and proper aim.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Similar aims animate the governments of Northern Rhodesia and, within recent years, of Nyasaland. But conditions here are complicated by the large labor migrations which exert continual attrition on the traditional patterns of life. These colonies thus present in accentuated form the problem of reconciling the principle of evolutionary development of Native life with the disruption of that life through the labor requirements of White industry. No general solution of that problem has yet been found.

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32 Cf. Mair: op. cit., pp.168-80; Thomas,H.B., and Scott,R.: Uganda (London, Oxford University Press, 1935) pp.65-84,312-25.

Kenya. Kenya is distinguished from the other East African colonies by its commitment to the "dual policy" of concurrent development of white and Native interests. Some of the difficulties which this policy has involved have already been mentioned.[33] It is not yet clear whether the dual policy is really a practicable aim--whether at the complex level of modern western society two distinct cultures can develop harmoniously in the same area, complementing eachother and ministering to eachether. So far the white settlers have sought to achieve and maintain a white hegemony, and to keep the Native peoples in a subservient position. The Hilton Young Commission and other similar bodies have refused to admit the legitimacy of this view, and have insisted rather that the principal effort must at present be devoted to raising the Native peoples to something approaching parity of opportunity and influence. The outcome remains to be seen.

Belgian Policy. The Native policy of Belgian Congo is still to be considered. Since it is intermediate in conception between the French view and the British, and since the area of its application is vast and varied, including extremes of isolation and of industrialization, a concise view is difficult to get. It is conditioned especially by the existence of vast concessions with special rights, and by the demands of important vested interests for abundant cheap labor. On the other hand the memory of earlier failures to control the situation in the interest of Native well-being persists, and the authorities desire the approbation of world opinion toward their administration.

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33 See pp. 63-65 supra.

Belgian opinion is therefore ready to support the views elaborated by M. Franck, former Minister of Colonies, that Native authorities should be recognized and developed as organs of responsible government within the framework of European administration, a conception closely akin to the British plan of Indirect Rule.[34] Much excellent work has been done in reconstituting these Native authorities, restoring the rightful incumbents, re-uniting broken communities, and rearranging administrative boundaries to correspond to tribal groupings. Traditional laws and usages have been recognized and studied. Efforts have been made to safeguard the communal life against excessive depletion of its numbers for labor at a distance, against spirits and narcotics, and against disease, particularly African sleeping-sickness. In these respects Belgian administration is undoubtedly one of the best in Africa.

But the co-existence of large industrial and agricultural interests in European hands has restricted progress toward any large ideal of communal development. The communal life is inapplicable under the artificial conditions of workmen's villages and labor camps. Those who reside there, or in cities, or even in mission centers, are therefore recognized as outside the jurisdiction of the Native authorities, and subject to "immatriculation" which releases them from all tribal obligations. In the course of time many such partially Europeanized Natives return to their original homes; but they do not againssubmit themselves wholeheartedly to the traditional authorities. The theoretical values of Indirect Rule in preserv-

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34 Franck, L.: Etudes de Colonization Comparée, t.1.,pp.79-129.

ing the homogeneous life of the Native community are thus jeopardized by the contrary ideal of emancipation from tribal authority into a European type of social organization. The unwillingness of certain missionaries as well as administrators to conceive the possibility of good in such institutions as matrilineal succession and communal land tenure, and the attempt of various missions to organize Christian villages external to the tribal system have been among the influences promoting this "extra-customary" régime.

Government participation in labor recruiting has already been noted.[35] In this activity the chiefs have been forced to play a part.[36] In other respects also the administration has been less scrupulous than that of Tanganyika to avoid the appearance of compulsion. Native villages are often isolated within European concessions and thus subject to continual pressure toward European rather than Native norms. Treasuries attached to Native authorities have been established tardily, and very limited scope has been given to local initiative in self-directed community services supported by local taxation. There has been little concerted effort toward the improvement of economic or social conditions in village life.

Indirect Rule thus seems to be, in the minds of some officials at least, a temporary expedient not to be taken too seriously, which will exentually give way to an "extra-customary" régime modelled on European types of government.

Recent legislation, however, makes provision for local self government in extra-customary centers, thus paralleling the

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35 See page 61, supra.
36 I.L.O.: The Recruiting of Labour, pp.142-44.

development already noted in Tanganyika. It is provided that such centers shall be ruled by a chief and council, the latter including the members of the Native tribunal. Appointment is by the Administrator with consideration of the wishes of the peeple, for a term of two years. The chief is spokesman and intermediary between the people and the government. He issues passes, admits members to the community, and maintains order. The Council makes a budget and imposes taxation for local purposes. A committee of Europeans supervises all the centers in an urban district, both officials and non-official members being included. Native law and custom has a certain scope, its exact limits being left undefined.

It is difficult to see how larger provision could be made for the continuance of local self-government under the conditions of industrial life. It is definitely not the same thing as the traditional authority, invested with hereditary rights and responsible as trustee for the community lands and prerogatives under a religious sanction. Yet it is definitely not the complete Europeanization which sweeps away communal ties and obligations and exalts the individual above the group. Provided that the members of the community are sufficiently homogeneous in race and tribal culture there is every reason to suppose that a new esprit de corps, a new sense of communal fellowship, will develop within such centers, at least under favorable social and economic conditions. They will certainly require guidance and stimulus toward economic stability and initiative, as well as in the utilization of the special skills of various members for the good of the whole community. It is

too early to predict the outcome of this plan. It is perhaps indicative of the difference in mentality or administrative habits of the British and Belgians that the development in Tanganyika took place quite spontaneously as an experiment whereas that in Belgian Congo is directed by official decree as a development of the theory of "extra-customary centers" already in operation. Belgian officials tend to combine British practicality with French love of order and regularity--on the whole a happy combination.[37]

Education in Congo has not gone beyond the elementary level except in a very few trade schools, in teacher training schools, and in seminaries for the priesthood. The general curriculum for elementary schools is modelled closely on the Belgian primary curriculum; but a general revision is under consideration with a view to adapting the program more closely to village life and needs. Practical field courses in agriculture are encouraged and subsidized.

The tendency heretofore has been for the higher schools, which are almost without exception under mission control, to train boys to become either village teachers, clerks, or craftsmen fitted for European employment. There has been little attention to village life and possible avenues of advance within the Native community itself. This is much needed, and not least so in relation to the newer type of industrial community where the mores and general tone of the community may respond readily to guidance at this stage.

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37 The decree on the organization of extra-customary centers may be found in the Annuaire du Documentation coloniale comparée, 1931, v.1., pp.103-07. Cf. Mair, op. cit., pp. 240-49.

It is to the interest of the Congo society of the future that the lines of development of the industrial and rural segments of the population should converge rather than diverge. To this end a policy of development of the village community rather than of stagnation and supercession should be pursued. At the same time some kind of authority should be preserved by the Native authorities over all the people within the area of their jurisdiction. And where the old tribal structure is inapplicable the type of substitute provided such be such as to harmonize with Native institutions rather than stand in sharp contrast thereto. These objectives seem to be in the minds of the authorities in the recent developments in Native administrative organization. Thus the whole of the community may be guided along lines of evolution in which the cleavage between its sections never becomes pronounced, and the process of change is never so abrupt as to be revolutionary.

Nationalism and patriotism. A final observation may be permitted regarding the relationship of African Natives to European nationalism. Only France and Portugal definitely equate their colonial subjects with the peoples of the homeland in terms of civic duty and eventual citizenship. Elsewhere the relation is left shadowy and undefined. Yet the thinking of any colonial official is bound to be nationalistic in the sense of his own patriotic background and convictions. Consequently the peoples of Africa are being taught the various patriotisms and loyalties proper to the nations that control them. When, as occasionally happens, boundaries change, a section of the population is subjected to a change of allegience in which it

has no voice, and a new patriotic loyalty is expected of such groups as a matter of course. The reductio ad absurdum of this situation is found in those former German areas which were administered for a time by the British before they became French Mandates. Here three nations succeeded one another, and the school children (and others) were encouraged to an almost kaleidoscopic succession of loyalties. Again, the ancient kingdom of Kongo is now embraced under four administrations held by three different powers, so that members of the same tribe and clan may find themselves saluting different flags and learning different languages.

It is not idle to point out that such loyalties can, in the nature of the case, mean but little to the Native peoples concerned. Patriotism is to them exactly what it is to their European mentors, love of the land of the fathers and devotion to the traditional glory of their people. It is quite impossible to transfer it by an act of the will to a new object. Loyalty there may be, a growing loyalty with growing awareness of the benefits and the interdependence resulting from the activity of the colonizing power; but those powers would do well to capitalize and build upon the existing patriotisms of their Native peoples. They should exalt the ideal of building together toward a finer African land and race and culture, rather than neglect those conceptions in favor of an alien patriotism (from the African standpoint) which cannot be more than superficial.

The same questionings as to the validity of European nationalisms for the African apply even more forcibly to

the assumption on the part of a colonizing power that its particular type of culture is ideal and inherently superior to that of other nations. French civilization (to cite an instance) is perhaps the best for France--at least the best so far achieved--because it has its roots in the French temperament, soil, climate, aptitudes, and so forth. By the same token British civilization should be superior for Britain, Belgian for Belgium, and so forth. If this be so then the best for Africa will be African, not European at all. It will be a civilization having its roots in the temperament, soil, climate, and aptitudes peculiar to Africa, or to particular regions in Africa.[38] But all of this is open to question. Would not all European types of culture be bettered by the elimination of the jealousies implicit in this parochial assumption of national superiority? Is not nationalism itself an illogical halting place on the road of emergence from tribalism to world-conscious democracy?

> The spirit of nationality is a sour ferment of the new wine of Democracy in the old bottles of Tribalism. The ideal of our modern Western Democracy has been to apply in practical politics the Christian intuition of the fraternity of all mankind; but the practical politics which the new democratic ideal found in operation in the western world were not oecumenical and humanitarian but tribal and militant. The modern western democratic ideal is thus an attempt to reconcile two spirits and to resolve two forces which are in almost diametrical opposition; the spirit of Nationality is the psychic product of this political tour de force; and the spirit of Nationality may be defined (negatively but not inaccurately) as a spirit which makes people feel and act and think about a part of any given society as though it were the whole of that society.[38]

It would appear, then, that all the best of European experience should be brought to bear to help fashion the African

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38 Toynbee, A.: A Study of History. (London, 1934.) v.1, p.9.

civilization of the future; and national boundaries and jealousies can only stand in the way of that process, they can hardly help it along. It is utterly unreasonable to suppose that the accidents of colonial boundaries correspond to any differences of condition or need which render British methods and culture preferable, for instance, east of Lake Tanganyika, and Belgian to the west, or French civilization more suitable north of the Congo and Belgian south, and Portuguese again further south. Officials of all nations and colonies need rather to develop a tolerant internationalism of viewpoint, to learn of oneanother and exchange excellences. Thus they may together help the Africans advance along lines purged of excessive European nationalism and growing toward a national character with excellences peculiar to the land and life of Africa itself.

The alternative is conflict. Discerning recent visitors have been impressed with this as they observed the nationalistic emphasis in French West Africa.

> The French are obviously entirely convinced that this course is a definite moral obligation; faith in their national mission is responsible for the certainty and enthusiasm which are such attractive characteristics of their staff. As a working creed such an outlook would be hard to excell.
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> The foreign observer will, however, be conscious of a steadily growing sense of isolation; he views all this fervour with sympathetic admiration, but he can take no personal part in it, since he is not a Frenchman. . . . He is looking at an isolationist system; the French have evolved a policy rather than a philosophy.
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> This distinction would perhaps be less material were it not for the presence of other nationals in Africa, who naturally cannot be expected to accept the same ideas and aims. Furthermore, if these other nationals are themselves equally convinced of their infallibility and their mission, it becomes obvious that conflict is eventually inevitable.

> The Portuguese with their long colonial history, and the strong religious element in it, have equally evolved a policy; with similar conviction they spread their culture and language, which, in view of the considerable extent of Africa administered by them, represents an important element in the development of the continent. The Spaniards in their small area follow somewhat similar lines.
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> The Belgians are comparatively late arrivals, but t they have now adopted certain definite principles which have their own peculiarities, while the Italians in their territories can presumably be relied upon to maintain a s strongly patriotic attitude.
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> . . . . . .
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> The claim by any one nation to special cultural appeal to the black man is merely an allegation that all the rest are wrong, and that they should therefore be eliminated. . . .
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> The prospect is a perplexing and disquieting one; apparently the ever-increasing communication across international frontiers can but lead to the growth of friction resulting eventually in the survival of only the most worthy power--whichever that may be. European nationalism, transplabted into Africa and reinforced by conscription, s seems capable of immeasurable conflagration.[39]

The national state is thus by its nature insufficient by itself for the guidance of the emerging life of Africa. Its particularity of view is irrelevant to the life of Africa's peoples. It is forced to regard them partly as a means of its own greatness, not wholly as an end in themselves. Nor can colonial government be wholly disinterested, because it depends on revenue and support derived from collaboration with exploitative interests. Thus there is need for another contribution--that of the disinterested, non-political friend of the Native, constructively active but without selfish ambition. This contribution is being made most notably by the Christian missions. Their significance will be considered in the following chapters.

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39 Mumford,W.S. and Orde-Brown,G. St.J.: Africa Learns to be French. (London, Evans Brothers, 1936.) pp.79-81.

CHAPTER 8

THE RELEVANCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE CHANGING LIFE OF AFRICA

Christianity, like western civilization, entered Africa full of faith in its own adequacy and superiority. The chastening realization that the impact of civilization has not been wholly to the good has led many Europeans and Americans, including Christians, to question the propriety of propagating Christianity among non-Christian peoples. The issue thus raised is fundamental. It is not merely a question whether the missions are doing good and useful work. It is the far larger question whether the Christian gospel of which the missions are the exponent is universally valid in a way which justifies their continued presentation as essential truth. Obviously Christianity has its particularisms and its variants--analogous to the variant nationalisms within western culture as a whole. But beneath those nationalisms there is a central core of achievement and of control over nature which is so valuable a part of our heritage that we cannot regard it as other than permanently valid and worthful. Consequently we seek means of making it available for the enrichment of Africa, attempting at the same time to avoid sub-

jecting the African to unnecessary shock or maladjustment in the process. Is there in Christianity an equally essential core of values? If so what are they, and how are they to be distinguished from accidental accretions derived from the surrounding culture through the ages? How are they to be mediated to the African, and in what relation do they stand to the traditional moral and religious values of his own culture? To these questions this chapter and the next are devoted.

In the field of religion and morals Christianity has unhesitantly put forward claims to universality. Just as the Frenchman regards la civilisation française as the summit of human attainment, so the Christian regards Christianity as the final revelation and "way of salvation" for all men. In both cases the affirmation is an act of faith, a faith so strongly held that it becomes a motive of practical action: the French colonial is in his own estimation the apostle of civilization, just as the Christian missionary is the apostle of the Gospel. And in the exercise of that apostleship each finds himself driven to defend, in a vastly enlarged world of experience, the assertion, born of faith, that he possesses something of unique and universal worth. The Frenchman discovers that French civilization is, objectively considered, only a part of European civilization, which is after all only one of several great systems of society which co-exist on earth at the present time. The Christian comes to see that his own branch of the church represents only a segment of Christendom, and that the whole Christian communion is only one of several

great groups into which men collectively fall according to their dominant conceptions of life. If, confronted with this larger and varied world, the original faith is to endure, it must be strengthened by a process of thought and evaluation, coupled with vindication in actual experience, which sets it in a positive relation to the enlarged world outlook.

In that process there is bound to be some shifting of values: some things will be found more significant in the broader setting than they seemed against the narrower background, and others less so. Old distinctions may fade away, and new ones may have to be made. Such a process of revaluation is taking place today both with regard to civilization and to Christianity. Actually it is being carried out along a much wider front than the areas of colonization and missionary activity with which this book is concerned. But the issues of cultural adjustment in Africa set the whole process in strong relief, and may afford some suggestions of value beyond the immediate area concerned.

The present study may most conveniently be developed in relation to four successive questions: (1) In what relations and on what basis may Christianity properly claim a universal validity? (2) What are the values in Christianity which tend to support that claim? (3) In what respects has Christianity failed to realize the values it claims, and what is the significance of such failures? (4) What are the implications of all this for African missions and colonial governments?

THE BASIS OF EVALUATION

Evidence with and without apologetic value. It is necessary to distinguish at the outset between two types of data or evidence, one derived wholly from within a system of ideas and so significant only within the general framework of that system, and the other based upon data so far independent of the system itself as to be acceptable and cogent in the eyes of those who are not committed to the premises of the system itself. The first of these is of value in establishing coherence and harmony within the system; the second alone is useful in validating it before a questioning and critical world. Much argument is rendered pointless by a failure to observe this distinction. Thus, for the Roman Catholic the authority of the Church validates Christian tradition, while Tradition affirms the authority of the Church. But neither ecclesiastical authority nor the voice of Tradition convinces the non-Catholic who admits no supernatural sanction in either. Weighty arguments can only be founded upon accepted premises.

Thus any validation of Christianity must be made in terms which are given weight by those to whom the argument is addressed. This is a fact of fundamental importance in all ages and under all conditions. It is illustrated in the New Testament itself by the manner in which the Apostle Paul drew the essential values of Christianity out of the Jewish setting and reinterpreted them in terms of the life and thought forms of the Graeco-Roman world. Most missionaries appreciate the

necessity of making exactly such a reinterpretation again in terms of the life and thought and practical needs of the people with whom they are working, but not all are as free and bold as Paul in doing so--nor as successful. But today Christianity is again in need of reinterpreting itself not only in mission lands but also in the new thought-terms of modern life in the western world.

The secularistic viewpoint. Thoughtful Christians today can hardly fail to realize that they are confronted with a new paganism, more widespread and more self-assured in its denial of the tenets and values of Christianity than any religion or philosophy that has arisen hitherto.[1] This world-view emphasizes man and his achievements, particularly in the realm of science; asserts his self-sufficiency; and either tacitly or explicitly denies any real importance to religion. This secularistic view of life is the most formidable antagonist of Christianity today, and it is primarily against this view that Christian faith must assert and maintain its validity. This is true among those large sections of Africa's peoples who are brought into contact with European thought by one means or another,[2] no less than in the relations between organized bodies of Christians, colonial governments, and extra-official agencies.

"Divine revelation" not a criterion of validity to the secular mind. It is obviously futile to attempt to defend Christianity on the premises of an ancient revelation or a traditional authority in the face of a world-view which is

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1 Oldham, J.H.: Church, Community and State: A World Issue. (New York, Harper & Bros, 1935.) pp.7-18.

2 Oldham and Gibson: The Remaking of Man in Africa. p. 17 etc.

essentially realistic, pragmatic and experimental in character. Practical-minded people today are frankly sceptical of dogma and tradition. Their interest in Christianity, if they have any, is as something that works, that has personal and social value for present-day life and offers guidance toward something better. It rests on experience and practice rather than on abstract theory.

Social effectiveness as a criterion of validity. It is the contention of the writer that Christianity is perfectly capable of defending itself in terms of its value to society, and that it will be salutary to express these values, not only as justitification for the continued presentation of Christianity but as a means of revaluating Christian doctrine and practice. Thereby irrelevancies may be discarded and significant values developed. It would lead too far afield to attempt such a re-orientation of thought in its entirety, but the present chapter will exemplify the approach here suggested.[3]

In other words it is intended to regard Christianity objectively and pragmatically. In so far as it contributes--or is capable of contributing--values to the individual or to society, it will be considered useful and therefore valid, the more so if those values are unique or peculiarly significant. In so far as it destroys values it must be considered harmful and hence invalid, unless the harm is accidental and not implicit in Christianity itself. This is precisely the formula which one would apply in evaluating any other element or in-

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3 Several articles in Christendom seem to follow this approach. Cf. Buckham, J.W.: Shall it be Christianity? v.2,pp.101-09.

stitution in society; it is the type of appreach to which scientific procedure has schooled the modern mind.

There is exactly the same justification for using this approach today that there was for Calvin to draw on the thought-forms of jurisprudence in the sixteenth century, or Anselm on those of feudalism in the eleventh, or John on the Logos concept[4] in the first, or Hosea on the obligation of marriage[5] in the eighth century before Christ. Each generation must clothe its thought of God and its conception of the world in the most adequate figures of which it is capable, recognizing always that they are but figures and that the succeeding generations will sooner or later find new and larger terms for their advancing thought.

Missions as a proving-ground of Christianity. For this type of evaluation Christian missions afford unique opportunities. Christianity is a factor of long-standing in western society, and it is quite impossible to evaluate its peculiar contribution in contradistinction to other institutions now a part of that culture. But in the mission fields it is possible to observe the effect of introducing various forms and interpretations of Christianity to other societies; and it is thus in relation to these areas in particular that the present attempt to evaluate Christianity is pertinent. It may be suggested that missions constitute a kind of experimental laboratory for Christianity, in which the beliefs and assumptions of its adherents are put to the test of a fresh experience.

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4 John 1:4
5 Hosea 1:2-9; 2:2-13; 3:1-4:19.

Valuation of the Christian message by its social effects is in fact as old as the Gospel itself. "By their fruits ye shall know them" said Jesus.[6]

> Now when John heard in prison what the Christ was doing, he sent his disciples to ask him, "Are you the Coming One? Or are we to look out for someone else?" Jesus answered them, "Go and report to John what you hear and see: the blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised, And blessed is he who is repelled by nothing in me!"[7]

The possibility of an experiential theology. Finally, it must be pointed out, though it cannot here be developed in detail, that the interpretation of Christianity from the standpoint of personal and social experience, if carried out to its logical conclusion, would result in a fully developed theology of Christian experience, a formulation to which all the data of history, science and philosophy would be tributary. On the hypothesis that man and the world are God's handiwork, in which He is still engaged, all knowledge is, or contains, knowledge of God; all experience is, or embodies, experience of God. All men, past and present, might be looked to for their contributions.[8] The great historic revelations, of Christianity, and, for what they have to offer, of other religions as well, would be regarded as the keys of insight by which we may pass from the obverse side of reality--that of experience, to the reverse side--that of the self-revelation of God. It is only by thus including all experience within its purview that Christian theology can make good its claim to universality. But the present

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6 Matthew 7:20.

7 Matthew 11:2-6 (Moffatt's Translation.)

8 Volume 1 of the Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council (1928) is a notable step inthis direction. Title of Volume: The Christian Message. See especially pp.284-342.

chapter cannot attempt to develop a complete theology. It must be limited to the mere statement of some of the social values of Christianity and their significance.

VALUES OF CHRISTIANITY TO SOCIETY

1. Personal transformation and integration. The first of these is the integration and even the transformation of personal character through the experience of a living relationship to a moral and purposeful God. It is not intended here to argue the question of the existence of God, nor of the adequacy of the Christian view of God. Like any other hypothesis of human thought, these conceptions probably fall far short of complete apprehension of reality. The point is that they do correspond to a great body of experience, and are to that extent workable and useful hypotheses. Moreover they have practical value as a focus and directive of character, and in this respect they are uniquely significant.

The need for such a focus of integration of life is widely felt. As John Dewey expresses it:

> The loyalties which once held individuals, which gave them support, direction, and unity of outlook upon life, have well-nigh disappeared. In consequence, individuals are confused and bewildered. It would be difficult to find in history an epoch as lacking in solid and assured objects of belief and approved ends of action as the present. Stability of individuality is dependent upon stable objects to which allegience firmly attaches itself. . . . Traditional objects of loyalty have become hollow or are openly repudiated, and they [the people] drift without sure anchorage. Individuals vibrate between a past that is intellectually too empty to give stability and a present that is too diversely crowded and chaotic to afford balance or direction to ideas and emotion.[9]

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9 Dewey, John: Individualism, Old and New. (1930) pp.52-53.

In so far as Christianity is answerable to the charge of hollowness and intellectual emptiness here implicitly made, the need is indicated for that type of re-interpretation in terms of positive experience which has already been urged. But the fact remains that both in this age and in all others in its history, the Christian conception of God and of man's relation to God has afforded to multitudes of men and women exactly that object of loyalty and basis of stable character which Dewpy seeks.[10]

Modern secularism has suggested various alternative loyalties as foci of devotion. Nationalism in its extreme form of jingoistic patriotism, fascism and communism with their common ideal of the totalitarian state, the further communistic ideal of the reconstruction of society--these form one group of such loyalties. Another is the frank enthronement of self-interest as the major directive of life--a less spectacular but probably more pervasive attitude than the preceding. To both of these viewpoints high religion as exemplified in Christianity presents the challenge of its more inclusive view--that the cardinal loyalty of man should not be toward himself, nor toward any restricted group or nation, but toward God and toward all mankind as the children of God.

It is the writer's view that the Christian attitude alone is adequate and ultimately satisfying, either to the individual or to society. The religious ideal alone transcends the limitations of personal or class or group interest to the point of envisaging the inclusive fellowship of all humanity.

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10 Cf. Link, Henry C.: The Return to Religion. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936.) Passim.

Only religious self-commitment affords a set of personal motives consistent with the end in view--motives which will not destroy the fellowship desired in the process of creating it. Christianity alone embraces the paradox of the Cross, which experience shows to lie at the heart of life, and makes it the norm and guide of living. The religious spirit alone perceives the mind and purpose of God self-expressed in human terms, and so affording to men the possibility of attuning themselves to the divine will and sharing in the realization of the divine purpose. This is the standing ground of Christian faith; it is the working hypothesis of life which the Christian sets out to verify in his own living, and which multitudes have found singularly potent in developing rich, wholesome, full-orbed personality and character.

It does not detract from the significance of Christianity to point out that some of these values are also found in the other great faiths of mankind. Rather it confirms Christianity's universal character, for it shows that the profoundest experiences of men everywhere lead to similar convictions as to the meaning of life and the nature of the unseen power which gives form and order to the world. Christianity combines the excellences of the other great faiths, and exemplifies them in the unique historical figure of Jesus, whose inexhaustible significance is discovered and experienced anew by each succeeding generation of his his followers.

That Africa, with all its traditional loyalties shaken and the old pattern of life rent and frayed, has need of an adequate focus for the re-integration of character and of

society is obvious. And that Christianity affords such a focus and is actually effective is confirmed by the testimony of many observers. Particularly noteworthy is the character, the quality of life, and the service to their own people of a host of African men and women who have experienced the transforming power of vital Christianity.[11]

2. The Church--the "Body of Christ" in society. The second great value of Christianity is the Church, the corporate body through which the Christian experience is shared and transmitted, and the Christian will and conscience brought to bear on the individual and on society at large. In many parts of Africa the Church has provided a means of social cohesion when existing institutions were crumbling away; and it may be expected to grow in value, both as a means of fellowship and as an organ for dealing with the problems of a changing society, provided that it is permitted to become thoroughly African in character and given scope and initiative. The significance of the Church will be further discussed in the following chapter.[12]

3. The contagious motive of Christian love. A third value, implicit in the first two, is the motivation of Christianity which makes it not only a working philosophy of life but a contagious, self-propagating, growing way of life. Christianity is not primarily a system of ethics or behavior--something that must be accepted by all people to be workable at all; it is rather a vital spark which, once kindled, fires the individual life with new purpose and character even amid adverse

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11 Cf. Gollock, G.A.: Sons of Africa (New York, 1926) and Daughters of Africa (New York, 1932.)

12 Cf. Westermann: The African Today, pp.233-37.

circumstances, and which tends to spread from life to life with cumulative power and meaning. This motivation is expressible in various terms--love, brotherhood, service, consecration--but its primary expression is the perception that self-realization is found in self-giving without limit--the way of the Cross. Christians believe that the Cross of Christ not only symbolizes but exemplifies the relation in which God stands to man, a relation which the believer is also called upon to make his own. True Christianity is thus an appeal to courageous and even heroic living; its challenge is not limited bo any particular group or class, not is it satisfied by any fesponse less than complete and unswerving devotion. Its power increases with difficulty or danger, its great foes are selfishness and self-indulgent ease. It is thus admirably fitted to serve in times of stress and crisis, provided only that consciousness and conscience have been aroused to the issues at stake.

4. Universal brotherhood and sonship. Finally, Christianity is essentially universal in its scope and aim. In the individual it cannot admit any higher loyalty than the obendience to God which it demands. Since it holds that all men are the children of one God and Father, it cannot conceive that any race, nation or class lies outside the scope of its message, nor that any human problem is beyond solution by Christian principles and methods. It is of the essence of Christian faith that it should reach out to all peoples and to all areas of life with the purpose of realizing the universal "Kingdom of God" around which the teaching of Jesus so largely

centered. To the power and effectiveness of this outreach the whole missionary enterprise bears eloquent testimony.

Such are the values of Christianity, expressed in elementary and non-theological terms: new quality and power of life in the individual, the fellowship of the Christian church as the organic, corporate expression of this life, a contagious "way of life" expressed in social attitudes and motives that grow in power as they permeate society, and an aim and purpose inclusive of all humanity and all life.

THE WEAKNESSES OF CHRISTIANITY IN PRACTICE

An unrealizable ideal. If these values were fully realized in practice the sufficiency or insufficiency of Christianity would be demonstrated beyond peradventure. But full realization of such ideals is obviously not to be expected. On the one hand, humanity is faltering and fallible by nature; on the other hand, the ideals of Christianity are expanding and progressing aims, so that each stage of human achievement brings into view new reaches of meaning and ultimate purpose yet to be realized. A moral or religious standard that is definitely realizable is definitely inadequate, since it leaves no incentive, once reached, for further growth and advance. Thus the fact that Christianity is never fully lived out in practice is not a condemnation of its value, but a vindication of its continuing worth.

> Christianity, even where it is strictest in the matter of rules of life, ritual or credal efficacy, does invariably insist on the importance of the inner life and of higher standards in regard to it. The standards of Christianity are often described as impracticable and impossible, leading inevitably to hypocricy or a divorce between precept and

> practice. This may be true in its degree, yet it seems undoubted that it is the very impossibility for the Christian of living up to the standards of his religion which has given Christianity its real vitality. It is impossible to live up to any standard of perfection, in matters intellectual or artistic as well as ethical. But the fact that it is cherished impels to further effort.
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> On the other hand, belief in the efficacy of external things, be they words or deeds of a practicable instead of an impracticable standard will tend to moral and intellectual stagnation. It may, if the prescribed rules be well chosen, help markedly at first towards a raising of level of life and an increase of self-respect; but after a time this will almost invariably cease.[15]

Nevertheless, the impossibility of fully realizing Christianity does involve certain hazards. Christians, both individually and corporately, are prone to relieve the strain of an unrealized ideal by reducing it to more manageble terms at the sacrifice of some vital element. The result is always essentially the same: they are left grasping the empty shell, but the life and glory of the ideal eludes them. The element thus sacrificed is not always the same; the variety of phenomena called Christian arises from the various efforts that have been made to bring Christianity within the compass of a human system. If this be true of the various forms and branches of Christianity may be regarded as mutually complementary, the particular emphasis of one branch tending to correct the deficiencies of another. Even a cursory acquaintance with the activities of the various Christian missions in a field like Central Africa will tend to support this view. In some degree also these weaknesses represent either the negation or the perversion of the values mentioned in the preceding section. This suggests a frame of analysis of the defects of Christian practice.

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15 Huxley, Julian: Africa View. (London, 1931.) pp.341-42.

Defects in the appropriation of Christianity to the personal life. In the first place, the new power of life which Christianity seeks to engender is not always realized. The demand for it is sometimes reduced to easily attainable and correspondingly worthless levels--verbal assent to a creed and conformity to accepted norms of ritual and conduct. Or there may be an emotional response of the type expected by the group, experienced in perfect sincerity and conviction, yet without permanent moral effect or life-enhancing value.[14] Both of these types of sterile conformity are well-known in American and European church life. Their inadequacy is recognized by many thoughtful Christians as well as outside observers, but there seems to be no way to limit their self-propagation in Africa and elsewhere. The Roman Catholic Church tends to be content with a minimum of assent in "converts" of the first generation. It proceeds on the principle that once within the fold of the church, succeeding generations will receive the benefits of training and of enlarging experience, and so grow in Christian stature. While this procedure is the natural result of the Roman Catholic view that man is doomed to eternal punishment except as he finds salvation in the Church, it is highly questionable whether so lax a standard of membership is conducive to the moral and religious growth which is desired.

This involves a further issue, i.e., the perversion of the Christian ideal of new and richer life to salvation in terms of the life to come but without vital meaning for the

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14 Cf. "speaking with tongues" in the New Testament church at Corinth. I Corinthians 14. Also the excesses of nineteenth century revivalism in America.

life that now is. There is no adequate basis for such a view in the Gospels; on the contrary there is very strong evidence that Jesus expected the new life to be manifest in the whole behavior of his followers day by day.[15] To miss this fact is to pervert the whole meaning of Christian salvation into something bordering on the realm of magic, by postulating an effect unrelated and disproportionate to its cause. A single illustration of this type of perverted Christiantity will suffice. Let it be said in passing that it is by no means confined to the Roman Catholic Church, though this instance related to that communion.

> A boy at a government school, a non-Christian, met with a nasty accident and was taken, unconscious, to hospital. There he was seen by a charitable Roman Catholic missionary, and baptized--while still unconscious. He recovered, was informed of his baptism, and came in some perplexity to my informant: was he really a Christain, would he have to go to church, believe all the things the missionaries told him, and behave as they bade under penalty of damnation? His idea seemed to be that, having come under the control of the Christian God by the rite of baptism, he would now be subject to that God's power. He was told that as the rite had been administered without his knowledge, he was perfectly free to do as he liked. However, he appeared to feel that some magic compulsion lay upon him, went to church to see what it was like, as he put it, and thus has drifted into Christianity. To the orthodox Catholic the missionary's action seems not only legitimate but highly praiseworthy; it was done to make quite sure that if the boy died his soul might have a chance of being saved. To my informant, on the other hand, it seemed a wholly unfair way of gaining influence over the unprepared mind of a young native.[16]

As long as Christianity fails to divest its own thinking of magical concepts, and as long as the hope of Heaven and fear of Hell continue to dominate its presentation in Africa

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15 E.g., Matthew 25:31-46; Luke 6:27-49, to cite but two of the many passages bearing on this point.

16 Huxley, op. cit., p.338.

to the neglect of the moral and social emphases of the New Teastament and the Prophets, so long will such instances repeat themselves.[17]

The experience of new life is liable also to perversion through the emotional exaggeration of its uniqueness, leading in extreme cases to separatist movements, prophetism, and psychopathic phenomena. The missionary body is generally aware of this danger and prepared to meet manifestations of it with wise counsel and guidance. It is a phase of religious experience by no means rare in bodies of inexperienced Christians in whom a real change of character and motive is taking place.

Missions are liable to err in the direction of overemphasis on a complete break with the past on the part of Native Christians. Recognizing that the new spirit in their lives must express itself in visible change, the missionary is apt to demand changes of habits and mode of life that are really irrelevant or even detrimental, because he has failed to perceive how the elements in question are related to the whole scheme of Native life or to evaluate the full effect of the change. The suppression of lobola[18] is a case in point. It should be borne in mind by religious leaders that conversion may properly be expected to change the goals or aims of life, and so change the direction in which an individual moves and develops, but it does not at once remove him to a different

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17 In connection with instances of this kind, the declaration of the Jerusalem Conference is significant, i.e.: "We would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests. We obey a God who respects our wills and we desire to respect those of others." Report of the Jerusalem Meeting... v.1,p.484.

18 Cf. Westermann: op. cit., pp.136-39.

point along the path. Life is continuous, and the Christian has to move onward from the point he had reached before conversion. To attempt to break this continuity is to do violence to the personality. This is still true no matter how complete the change in outlook, character and purpose effected by conversion to Christianity.

Defects in realizing the universal fellowship of the Church. Passing now to the second point: the Church may also be so perverted or reduced as to make its values unrealizable. Some Christian groups have almost completely failed to grasp the significance of the Church. To some the term means little more than a meeting place for worship, or the local body of believers who gather there. Others find more or less significance in the larger fellowship of sect or denomination; perhaps relatively few conceive the Church in the fulness of its meaning as the "Body of Christ" in the world, the organic whole in which all members inhere and find fulfilment, and through which the strength and wisdom of all the parts are mediated each to each and made to serve the continuing purposes of God. Even those who have some conception of the widespread unity of the Church are still prone to think of it as an organization or mechanism rather than as a living organism. It will not do, of course, to press the analogy between a social organism and the human body. This has long been recognized as a sociological fallacy. But it is equally fallacious to conceive a social organism, instinct with life and creativity, in terms of mere organization or mechanism. Account must be taken of the inherent vitality of the self-realizing, self-propagating, social organism.

Protestant bodies have too often failed to appropriate the values of communion in the Church Universal, and permitted divisive influences to make them oblivious to this wider fellowship. It is largely through the experience of such fellowship on mission fields and in the younger churches that this rich heritage is being rediscovered. Catholic missions, on the other hand, have always exalted the conception of the Church Universal and recognized themselves as part of it; but the Roman Catholic Church has not been willing to recognize Protestantism as valid Christianity. This has stood in the way of any practical realization of active unity and fellowship in the whole Church.

Furthermore, from the Protestant viewpoint Roman Catholicism itself represents a perversion of the true conception of the Church, in that it has substituted a hierarchical organization and an artificial authority for the spontaneous, varied and vital working of the Spirit in human lives and society. It has created a superficial appearance of unity at the cost of thrusting out of its fellowship much of the most creative and effective Christian living and thinking of the past four centuries;[19] it has valued tradition and dogma above the unceasing quest for larger knowledge and fuller understanding; it has approved under seal of its own infallibility systems of philosophical and religious thought which were already outmoded and obsolescent among thinking people.

This illustrates the dangers which beset an established orthodoxy in a changing society; the orthodoxy tends to live in

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19 Not to mention the many earlier cleavages of Christendom, e.g. the Eastern Churches.

the past and be chiefly concerned for its own perpetuation, bold and free spirits find its confines increasingly unbearable and are driven forth, and the gulf between the old and the new widens until reconciliation is impossible. The same process may be observed in certain African tribes[20] and the end-result is the same--an irreconcilable cleavage of society into antagonistic groups, with the conservative, traditionally-minded element bound eventually to succumb before the onward march of experience and change. A similar fate awaits any religious orthodoxy that is unwilling to revise its thought life or unable to re-express its abiding values in terms that are vital and significant to each new age. The Christian Church is properly an onward-moving fellowship of living and creative experience; it is false and fatal to identify it permanently with the form it has taken at any particular stage of its history.[21]

Defects in respect to motivation. Thirdly, the motivation of Christianity is often based on superficial or improper considerations. There is the urge, especially in certain missions which depend on glowing reports for financial support, to emphasize mere numbers, and consequently to accept conversions that are such in name and little more. Akin to this is the invitation so frequently heard in certain churches in the homelands, perhaps even more than among the missions, to "accept Christ" and become church members, as if one were conferring a favor on the church by consenting to be accounted a member of it.

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20 The Bomvana of South Africa are an example. Cf.Cook,P.A.W.: The Education of a South African Tribe. pp.20-23,40-43.

21 Cf. Report of Jerusalem Conference, v.1, pp.303-315.

Far too many nominal Christians regard the church as a means of advantage to themselves, spiritual and religious advantage at best, prestige or material gain at lower levels; whereas church membership should be envisaged as a high privilege and a grave responsibility, a means of grace for higher living, a precious and sustaining fellowship, and a center of corporate activity for the alleviation of need and the propagation of Christianity. In this connection the following pronouncement of a representative group of American Christian leaders is significant:

> Is it not time to challenge the whole trend toward interpreting ecclesiastical expansion as the call of God? Must we not remember that vital Christianity has always been the religion of a minority? In the providence of God a smaller church may be a necessity if mankind is to be leavened by an earnest movement of the Spirit.
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> We are thinking also of the widespread dependence of the church upon secondary motives in maintaining the loyalty of its people. . . . . It is clear that many churches are depending too largely today upon the same motives which maintain clubs, lodges and philanthropies. They feel that they must furnish novel attractions and entertainment and organized activities that will enable them to compete with secular organizations. . . .
>
> As a result of this reliance on secondary or auxiliary motives there are a considerable number of persons in the church's membership who are accounted necessary for its maintenance but whose religious interest is neither eager nor enduring. Their presence tends to dilute the church's message and to obscure its mission. And on the other hand their response to the devices of salesmanship and promotion produces an exaggerated reliance upon these devices on the part of church officials.
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> . . . . . .
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> There is very little sense of loyalty to the church as a universal order of human life, an order far greater than a local church or the denomination. The vision of the church as a world Christian community must be made luminous and our devotion to it strengthened.[22]

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22 Beaven, A.W. and others, a Committee of the Federal Council of Churches: The State of the Church. The Christian Century, v. 53, pp.1746-48. (December 30, 1936.)

Similar in tenor is the following passage from a recent Papal Encyclical:

> Even in Catholic countries there are still too many who are Catholic hardly more than in name. There are too many who fulfil more or less faithfully the more essential obligation (sic) of the religion they boast of professing, but have no desire for knowing it better or deepening their inward convictions and still less of bringing into conformity with the external gloss the inner splendor of an unsullied conscience that recognizes and performs all its duties under the eye of God.[23]

If this religious superficiality is deplored in the western world it is not surprising that it is found also in mission lands where the meanings of Christianity have had relatively little time to permeate thought and experience. Yet, despite the hasty and superficial judgments of travellers and others, it is open to question whether the average church member of Central Africa is not quite as profoundly aware of the demands of Christianity, and quite as deeply committed thereto, as the average church member in America. At the same time no-one would deny the need of improvement.

The motivation of Christians may be perverted to unworthy ends even with the best intentions. There is a tendency to accept special favors for the church or its servants which are not justified by any social return of corresponding value.[24] But the primary function of the church is to give rather than to receive and amass. There is the temptation to spiritual pride in one's devotion or self-sacrifice or faithfulness in religious observance. But Christianity ought always to be rooted in humility and contrition. There is occasionally a

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23 Papal Encyclical on Communism. Official abstract. New York Times, March 19, 1937. p.10.

24 Huxley; op. cit., p.323, 334-35.

tendency to hypocricy--a willingness to temporize with one's own failings while demanding rigorous exactitude of others. But Christianity addresses itself to every man in relation to his own life and as steward of his own possessions, and not in relation to those of others. It speaks with the voice of conscience, not of covetousness, in bidding every man share with others or use for others whatever means or talents he has been given. There is a tendency to romanticize or spiritualize Christianity to remote, inaccessible and unreal ends so as to avoid immediate, practical and costly issues. Theology has too often erred in this direction. But one need only real the acts and teachings of Jesus and Paul to perceive that their concern was with pressing issues of actual life. To the realistic mind there can be little doubt that Christians in the present day must follow the same road.

Defects in respect to the universal outreach of Christianity. In the fourth place the universalism of Christianity may be variously reduced or perverted to impotence. Christian bodies may, for instance, conceive the function of self-propagation, i.e. evangelization, so narrowly as not to touch the whole of life in any significant way. In their singleness of aim some Christian groups tend to reduce evangelism almost entirely to a matter of preaching, omitting such supposedly extraneous matters as Christian education and Christian medical work in the interest of economy of effort. Actually this procedure is self-defeating, for the convert's response is liable also to be merely a matter of words, because Christi-

anity has not been demonstrated as a working force in life.[25]

In the matter of self-adjustment to the conditions of a new or changing cultural environment Christianity runs a double risk. On the one hand it may fail to make an adequate adjustment to the thought-life or practical needs of the people, and so remain alien and exotic in their eyes. On the other hand, in attempting to adjust itself it may forfeit some of the basic values of its own heritage. Both these tendencies are observable in the reaction of western Protestantism to modern science: some groups flatly reject any findings of science which run counter to their own preconceptions regarding revelation, thereby alienating themselves and their type of Christianity from the consideration of serious and scholarly people; while others at the opposite pole make scientific thought the norm and guide of religious experience, even at the expense of casting aside any significant conception of God. The corrective of these tendencies is synthesis, the point of view already expressed that "all experience is, or contains, experience of God" so that past and present, peoples near and peoples far away, all alike have their contributions to make to the full and perfect knowledge of God and His world.

Finally the ideal of universality is subject to perversions dictated by self-interest, particularly group self-interest. Any aim of ecclesiastical domination by a particular church for its own sake is such a perversion, as is any activity in the interest of denominational rivalry. Corporate

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25 Cf. Oldham and Gibson: The Remaking of Man in Africa. pp.138-39. See also Chapter 4.

unity of Christians may be unrealizable, and even undesirable; but unity of spirit may be enjoyed by all those who are earnest in seeking it and convinced of its importance. In this respect the mission fields of Central Africa present a somewhat brighter picture than the churches at home, for comity between Protestant bodies is generally observed, and there is a large measure of practical co-operation and unified thinking among them. The same is true as between the various Roman Catholic orders and missions, but between the two communions there is still little fellowship or accord.

Conclusions. What then is the net result? Do the weaknesses here decribed invalidate Christianity as a directive of life for African peoples? Or do they rather tend to emphasise its significance? In the writer's judgment a review of the whole matter justifies the following observations:

1. That many of the apparent weaknesses of Christianity, as for instance its diversity of form and expression, its lack of apparent unity, and its tendency toward extremes, are not peculiar to Christianity, but inhere in any vital and creative social organism, especially during a period of active self-adjustment.

2. That other weaknesses are even more evident to the alert Christian conscience than to the world at large, and represent the lag of achievement behind vision and ideals. They are thus indications not of total failure but of partial fulfilment of the values of Christianity.

3. That in every instance the cure for the admitted weakness is not less Christianity but more, or purer, or more

adequately interpreted Christianity. The weakness being recognized, the corrective can actually be approximated in practice, often through larger co-operation.

4. That despite all weaknesses Christianity has tremendous vitality and value, so that Christian missions are qualified to take an extremely important place in the remolding of African life. The peculiar significance of Christianity lies in its emphasis on the inner life of man, and in its power to re-form the mind and will in a new spirit, a spirit harmonious and constructive toward other people and toward society at large by virtue of its fundamental convictions regarding God, and man, and the world.

> The missionary spirit is a vital thing, productive of much self-sacrificing activity, much potential good to the world. The problem is how to harness it to the best effect for the good of the world--in our particular case, for the good of Africa.[26]

To this problem, how to harness the missionary spirit, or more broadly the Christian dynamic, for the good of Africa, the rest of this book will be largely devoted. For the rest of the present chapter the question is: In what relation should the missionary enterprise stand to the colonial administrations within whose jurisdictions it works, in order to realize its potential values most abundantly?

RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND MISSIONS

Government attitudes. Generally speaking central African governments have been hospitable to missionary activity,

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26 Huxley: op. cit., p. 345.

though not uniformly so. British governments have accorded large freedom of action to all religious bodies, and have generally subsidized missionary schools and medical work that met reasonable requirements as to effectiveness and standards. Belgian Congo is obligated by treaty to "favor and protect" missions "without distinction of nationality or religion"[27] and does in fact admit and recognize all missions backed by a reasonably stable and responsible home organization. However, the Belgian Government has conceded special responsibility for education to Roman Catholic missions, so that the equality envisaged in the Congo Basin Treaties is largely illusory. France and Portugal have conceded rights and privileges to missions with comparative reluctance, although colonials and publicists of both nations frequently concede the value of missionary activity as a civilizing influence. But the general colonial policy of these powers is such as to place the emphasis on the secular aspects of civilization and accord only minor importance to religion.

Nationality and Missions. Mission-government relations are often complicated by questions of nationality. Belgium, for instance, draws a sharp line of distinction between "national" and "foreign" missions. All but one of the "national" missions, so called, are Roman Catholic; all of the "foreign" missions are Protestant. In point of fact a large number of non-Belgians serve the "national" missions; and a few Belgians are included in the personnel of the "foreign" missions. The distinctions between the two groups include matters of subsidies, grant of land

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27 Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919. Section 11.

for stations, and probably other matters. But in any case the missionary group in a colony generally includes some nationals of the colonizing power, and some non-nationals. Except for limitations by treaty or international law, each colonial government has the right to make such regulations as it sees fit to control the activity of both groups. Non-nationals in particular must recongize that their legal status is that of resident aliens, and that they are subject to whatever disabilities that status involves.

> As towards the Government of a country, the right of a missionary to enter, and to pursue his work, when such a right exists, is civil, not religious, in nature; and as such is conditioned and controlled by the Government, just as any secular occupation is. Within the limits prescribed by the Government such civil rights become legal rights; outside those limits he has in his work no civil or legal rights. A moral right, and even a spiritual obligation, may rest upon him, but these confer no legal right to act; and if he does act upon them he has no consequent claim for safeguard upon the Government of the land, nor upon his own Government, because these, being civil in function, can take no cognizance of spiritual obligations. These obligations may transcend civil rights, or, in extreme cases, may even forbid deference to the requirements of the Government, and in such cases the consequences of loss of a just calim upon Governmental protection are to be cheerfully accepted. Readiness upon the part of missionaries and the constituency of missionary organizations to pay the price of loyalty wins respect and magnifies the supremacy of Christian obligation. An opposite course would forfeit respect and greatly impair the testimony borne to this higher relationship.
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> Care should be taken to distinguish moral and natural rights and duties from legal. This applies to comments upon the action of Governments in refusing permission to missionaries to enter their dominions or portions thereof. One should not infer a legal right to preach the Gospel from a spiritual obligation. There is no connexion between the two. Their spheres are different.[28]

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28 Missions and Governments: A Preliminary Statement of Principles by the Committee. International Review of Missions. v.2, p.565. (1913)

The interests of governments. Missionaries may well bear in mind also that governments are concerned for the social, economic, hygienic and civic advance of the peoples in their care, and only indirectly in religious change as it contributes to these other ends. The most effective appeal for extended opportunities for work will therefore be that which demonstrates most conclusively the salutary results of mission work in the fields in which governments are interested. A mission, as the guest of a colonial government, has a definite obligation to collaborate with government as far as possible in the pursuit of all ends which they hold in common. It should never make its special status an excuse for inferiority in those services in which it takes a hand, as compared with government or private agencies. It may reasonably ask for recompense for such services as would otherwise have to be performed at public expense by government agencies; but, in such a relationship, its standards of work and accomplishment should be at least equal to those of such agencies.

Missionary freedom of action. Intimate relations with government in matters of mutual concern must not be permitted to curtail the independence or freedom of action of the missions where vital interests of the people are threatened, whether by government action or by private agencies. The International Missionary Council in its Jerusalem meeting in 1928 made the following explicit pronouncements on this matter:

> We repudiate any attempt on the part of trade or of governments, openly or covertly, to use the missionary cause for ulterior purposes. Our Gospel by its very nature and by its declaration of the sacredness of human personality stands against all exploitation of man by man, so that we

cannot tolerate any desire, conscious or unconscious, to use this movement for purposes of fastening a bondage, economic, political, or social, on any people.

Going deeper, on our part we would repudiate any symptom of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests. We obey a God who respects our wills and we desire to respect those of others.[29]

All Christian forces . . . are bound to work with all their power to remove race prejudice and adverse conditions due to it, to preserve the rights of peoples, and to establish educational, religious and other facilities designed to enable all alike to enjoy equality of social, political and economic opportunity.

. . . . . .

Any discrimination against human beings on the ground of race or colour, any selfish exploitation and any oppression of man by man is . . . a denial of the teachings of Jesus.

. . . . . .

The Christian forces require a constructive programme of action, based on scientific knowledge and successful experiment, and perpetually adjusting itself to the new demands of changing situations.

Contacts between economically more powerful and weaker races frequently lead to exploitation, resulting in widespread injustice and suffering. It is imperative that Christians, and especially those in the immediate areas concerned, should take steps to end these conditions by creating, informing and influencing public opinion, by presenting their constructive plans before responsible administrative authorities, and, where necessary, by pressing for legislative action.

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Where . . . the affairs of a subject people are administered by a governing class of another race, the ruling race should regard itself as entrusted with the duties:

1. Of ensuring that the economic resources, and still more the human potentialities, of the country under its administration are developed in the interests of the indigenous population.

2. Of aiding the peoples so to conduct their affairs that at the earliest possible moment they will be able to stand alone and govern themselves.

3. Of aiding peoples to protect themselves against such evils as alcohol and noxious drugs, which come in the train of western civilization.

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We would emphasize the need that each national mission-

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29 Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council. v.1, p.484.

> ary or Christian council or committee, where unchristian conditions . . . prevail or threaten to develop, should work toward a Christian solution.[30]

Duty to protest wrong. It was thus the duty of the Council that Christian bodies have a duty to protest against injustice and wrong wherever it exits or threatens. In fact, missionaries and missions have thus protested on more than one occasion in the past, with salutary effect. Constructive criticism on the part of competent, well-informed and disinterested observers is valuable to any government. Missionaries should be on their guard against uttering criticism not so well qualified. Mission bodies have done well in making joint provision for the study of certain acute social problems by experts, in order to develop the needed "constructive programme of action based on scientific knowledge and experiment."[31]

Obligation of missions toward indigenous society. Missions need to recognize also that in being permitted to share in the reshaping of African life they are being given a hand in a most delicate and exacting task, a responsibility which ought not to be accepted lightly or without full realization of its weight.

> . . . the recognition by the Government of the missions' value to the country, and of their right to continue their work there, involves certain corresponding recognitions from the missionary bodies.
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> And by far the most important of these is the recognition that, since to be a missionary in a primitive and changing country is a great responsibility, a definite and high standard should be demanded from would-be workers in this field. . . .
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> A missionary in Africa is a man who sets out to remould the immemorial life of whole peoples. He sets out to convert them to a new religion, to alter their morals, their social customs, to educate their children in a radically new way, to teach them new ways of doing old things, and

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30 Report of Jerusalem Conference.... v.4,pp.237-43.

31 E.R. The Department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council.

> things which are new altogether, to cure their diseases and make them live healthier lives. Now this is a very responsible, not to say a ticklish job to undertake. And one surely has the right to demand that the men who undertake it shall submit themselves to as definite training to prepare themselves for it as do candidates for any other professional career.
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> . . . . Their own religious bodies will demand that they receive a specialized religious preparation; practical needs will see to it that they learn the language of the country once they get there. But is it too much to ask that they should prepare themselves beforehand by passing courses in the history and geography of the country where they intend to go; in psychology; if possible in science, notably as regards elementary physiology and the biology of reproduction and sex; and very definitely in social anthropology, so that they may understand the meaning and value of the institutions and beliefs they are setting out to alter?[32]

Qualifications needed in missionaries. Even more important, in the judgment of the present writer, are certain personal qualities which all mission boards would do well to require of all their candidates. Among these are sound and constructive judgment, tolerance and understanding, patience and sympathy, tact, and a pleasing personality. Sterling Christian character is presupposed in any missionary, of course. With these qualities, a modicum of intelligence and a reasonably good general education, the missionary will discover for himself the inter-relatedness of Native life and the effects of various possible types of approach. Specialized study in preparation for service, or during furlough, will, of course, make a good man better able to profit by his experience; but it will not make a successful missionary out of the narrow-minded, the uncultured, or the temperamentally unfit candidate. The missionare has very often to deal not alone with notables and chiefs among the Native peoples (who judge the essential worth of a

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32 Huxley: op. cit., p.344.

man with amazing insight), but also with government officials, who necessarily base their opinion of a mission largely on the conduct and aparent calibre of its representatives. For this reason, as well as for wise and effective administration and the promotion of the true welfare of the Native peoples, the missionary societies are under obligation to appoint only such candidates as are well qualified for the service demanded of them.

Need for organs of collaboration. Finally, provision is needed for effective collaboration between government and missions, through the establishment of such agencies as will promote understanding and intercommunication. The regular organization of the Roman Catholic Church provides such an agency, with power to speak authoritatively for the whole communion, and equally authoritatively within the communion. Protestantism admits of no such centralized authority, but secures many of its values through central Christian councils or committees in certain areas. The oldest of these in Central Africa is the Coungo Protestant Council (organized in 1911[33]) which since 1928 has maintained a central office with full-time Secretary at Léopoldville. This officer has been of inestimable value in promoting mutual understanding between the government and the missions, quite apart from his direct services to the missions themselves. Inter-mission committees of various degrees of effectiveness exist or are in formation in certain other

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33 The Council was originally called the Congo Continuation Committee. It was the first regional continuation committee organized any where in the world following on the recommendation of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.

colonies as well. The East African colonies have had a missionary serving as Educational Adviser for several years,[34] and a similar plan is projected for the Protestant Missions in Belgian Congo. It is desirable that missions generally should avail themselves of every opportunity for friendly collaboration and consultation with government officials on matters of mutual interest, especially where differences of nationality or language tend to breed misunderstanding. And, in particular, missions and missionaries need to observe with scrupulous care the courtesies and amenities practiced by the colonials among whom they reside as well as the official requirements in the way of reports, returns, legal correspondence, and the like. In this way they will improve their own standing in the eyes of the officials and so win a more ready acceptance of themselves and their cause as part of the order of things,--as unofficial but indispensible collaborators with government in the remoulding of African life.

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34 Mr. J.W.C.Dougall. See in particular his final report, Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda (London, International Missionary Council, 1936.)

CHAPTER 4

THE ACTIVITY OF MISSIONS -- THE CHURCH

The next three chapters will be devoted to a discussion of the activity of missions in relation to the changing Africa which has been sketched in the preceding pages. The writer's chief focus of knowledge and interest is naturally the Protestant missions of Belgian Congo, the group with which he is directly associated; but reference is made to other missions in central Africa in so far as conditions are comparable and the limitations of space and of knowledge permit. For convenience the discussion will be treated under the familiar three-fold division of missionary activity: evangelism and the Native church, medical work, and education; but it should be understood that this division is one of convenience without inherent significance. The present chapter will consider evangelism and the church.

Some postulates. At this point it is desirable to recapitulate certain conclusions from the discussion elaborated in earlier chapters, which form the basic convictions underlying all that follows. These may be stated as follows:

1. That Christian missions have positive and unique values to offer to Africa, and should therefore be given oppor-

tunity, encouragement and support for the making of their distinctive contribution. This is tantamount to saying that the African man and African society will find their fullest self-realization only in Christ and the Gospel.

2. That western Christendom has a definite responsibility to share Christianity with the peoples of Africa through the missions. In the words of Dr. Schweitzer:

> We are not free to confer benefits on these men, or not, as we please; it is our duty.[1] Anything we give them is not benevolence, but atonement.

This obligation to share is inherent in the nature of Christianity--in its essential view of God and the world.

> The parish of all preaching is the world.
> The condition of the world is the obligation of the church, and that means the whole world. If Christianity should begin to appear as a local religion, let us say a religion for Europe and America, it would automatically cease to be the religion of Europe and America. For the moment we begin to think of it as a special cult of our own we have ceased to be Christians.[2]

This involves two implications: first, that the missiond have the right to expect of the Christian church in the homelands that support which will enable them to discharge their responsibility adequately, with the corresponding duty of interpreting African needs to the home churches truly and adequately; and second, that every mission has the duty of using its entire strength and means in the way what will result in the largest benefit, not to itself, but to the people served--the Africans.

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1 Schweitzer, A.: On the Edge of the Primeval Forest. (New York, The MacMillan Co., 1931.) p. 172.

2. Hocking, W. E.: Evangelism. (Chicago, Movement for World Christianity. 1935.) p. 4.

3. That missions must recognize that they are but one of a number of forces which are changing African life today, and that all such forces affect the whole man as a unitary personality and react upon the whole of society. It is impossible to draw a line between religious and secular aspects of life. Not missions alone but all his contacts are re-shaping the African religiously; and, inversely, the effect of mission activity cannot be confined in any distinctly religious areas of life but pervades the whole being. Hence the missions must take account of the whole complex process of social transformation now going on.

4. That western civilization is in many respects disruptive of African life and culture, and does not always provide a valid substitute for that which it destroys. Not without reason does the Kabaka of Uganda declare that:

> What is at present popularly termed education and civilization of a Muganda may be nothing more nor less than mere affectation of the foreign customs and habits of the western countries which, in some instances, are injurious to our own inherent morals and ideals of . . . life.[3]

Particularly damgerous to African social cohesion is the highly developed individualism of western life. In this connection the forms and practices associated with Christianity in the western mind need scrutiny quite as much as so-called secular activities. Essential Christianity can only fulfil its true mission in African life as it is freed from alien-seeming external attributes and allowed to grow into full harmony with the emergent African culture.

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3 African Observer, v.5, no.2. (June 1936.) p.48.

5. That there is a radical difference in value between ends reached by imposition of alien authority and those reached by growth and spontaneous will, even though the immediate outward results appear identical. The former tend to be ephemeral, or at best inert; the latter portend further growth and multiplied achievement. The great power of Christianity is its capacity to effect growth of personality and character. To depend on external authority, therefore, instead of on the self-directing power of the growing man or group, is to miss the mark completely and stultify one's whole activity. Experience in the various types of colonial administration tends to substantiate this view in relation to government;[4] it applies with no less force in the fields of religion and education.

6. That factual knowledge is basic to wise and effective action. The unconscious prepossessions of the white man, derived from his own inherited culture and applied to Africa in ignorance and inexperience, are responsible for most of the blunders of the past. The white man, including the missionary, must be willing to learn a great deal from Africa before he is competent to teach, with assurance, anything at all. And the more he learns the less apt he is to assert his own wisdom; the more willing, rather, to assume the humbler rôle of collaborator with Africans in working out their own destiny according to the genius of the race.

These conclusions are not without direct implications for missionary activity and for the African Christian Church.

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4. Cf. Chapter 2; also Du Bois, H.M.: Assimilation ou Adaptation? Africa, v.2, pp.1-21. (1929)

They suggest several areas in which the Christian movement may well take account of its relationship to the wider life about it as a directive of its own thought and policy. Four of these will be considered in the present chapter. They are: (1) the attitude of Christian missions to Native life and culture; (2) the meaning and content of evangelization; (3) the place of the Church in Native society; and (4) the training of an African ministry.

THE ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO NATIVE LIFE AND CULTURE.

Missionaries do well to hold continually in mind the words of Jesus: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil."[5] They have, in fact, probably held this attitude far more consistently than either their detractors or their home-land supporters imagine. Like good pedagogues they have realized that one must start with what one finds and build upon it; in dealing with human beings one can never start with a clean slate. They have been at pains to find "points of contact" for the presentation of their message, and to interpret that message in terms at one intelligible and acceptable to the minds and emotions of their hearers. They have in general realized that interpretation is much more than mere translation into the words of another language--that it involves the discovery of a set of mental and emotional images within the experience of the hearers through which they can apprehend the meanings which the interpreter is

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5. Matthew 5:17.

trying to convey. In the quest for such interpretive experience the missionary has often become profoundly interested in Native life. He has become in turn the interpreter of that life to the world at large, as is witnessed by the important contributions of of missionaries to the literature of anthropology and ethnology.[6] He has often learned to recognize elements of beauty and abiding value, and to correct his own ealier impulses to condemn what he did not fully understand. Most experienced missionaries have probably passed through some such broadening adjustment of viewpoint.

At the same time, there is not entire agreement as to what should be the ultimate aim or attitude of Christianity toward the various indigenous cultures. It is agreed that Christianity is deeply concerned with morals and practical conduct, and that it offers a positive contribution to the life of all peoples in this field. This contribution includes both information and guidance as to the nature of moral living and power and incentive so to live. But in detail Christians differ among themselves as to the content of their message, and in their attitudes toward existing Native life wide divergences may be found.

One extreme, probably never quite reached in practice, would be the absolutist position. This would assume that Christianity had already achieved finality of judgment on all essential matters of conduct and morals, as well as theology, and that

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6 For instance the works of Henri Junod, Edwin W. Smith, Diedrich Westermann, Emile Casalis, John H. Weeks, Père Van Wing, Père Colle, etc. Also the large number of dictionaries and grammars of African languages produced by missionaries.

it was only necessary to instruct adherents according to definite rules laid down by prescient authority. The existence of a single, universal authoritative standard being assumed, all aspects of life would be submitted to judgment thereby. In matters of religious faith this position is approached by the Roman Catholic Church[7], but in practical questions of conduct the Roman Church tempers its absolutism with a great deal of wise flexibility.[8] This position is held with equal zeal and

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7. If faith is necessary for all men at all times and in all places, and if a true saving faith demands a clear knowledge of what we have to believe, it is clear that an infallible teaching Church is an absolute necessity. Such a Church alone can speak to men of all classes and at all times; it alone can, by reason of its perpetuity and ageless character, meet every new difficulty by a declaration of the sound form of doctrine which is to be held. If the teaching of Christ and his Apostles is distorted, none but the Church can say "This is its true meaning, and not that; I know that it is as I say because the Spirit which assists me is One with the Spirit which rested on Him and on them"; the Church alone can say, "Christ truly rose from the tomb, and I know it, because I was there, and saw the stone rolled back." The Church alone can tell us how we are to interpret the words "This is My Body," for she alone can say, "He Who spoke those words speaks through me, He promised to be with me all the days, He pledged Himself to safeguard me from error at all times." -- Hugh Pope: Faith, Rule of. In The Catholic Encyclopedia. (New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1909.) v.5, pp.787-88.

8. The Church does not separate the proper regard for temporal welfare from solicitude for the eternal. If she subordinates the former to the latter--according to the words of her divine founder "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you"--she is nevertheless so far from being unconcerned with human affairs and so far from hindering civil progress and national advancement that she actually fosters and promotes them in the most sensible and efficacious manner.

Thus, even in the field of social economics, and although the Church has never proposed a definite technical system, since that is not her field, she nevertheless has outlined the guiding principles which, while susceptible to varied concrete application according to diversified conditions of times places and peoples, indicate a safe way of securing happy progress for society. -- Pius XI. Encyclical on Communism. Official English Abstract. New York Times, March 19, 1937. p. 10.

sometimes with less discretion by certain Protestant missionaries, expecially as to the naïve assumption that conversion to Christianity will automatically provide the convert with adequate moral guidance through the working of the Holy Spirit within his life.

The absolutist view is fundamentally unsound because it disregards the facts both of history and of current experience. Thought forms vary, and theological truths require repeated restatement. The social fabric changes and cultural usages vary; and moral obligations, however immutable in principle, require continual sensitive adjustment in detail. Western Christianity has developed its characteristic forms concomitantly with the growth of western culture; its moral attitudes and emphases reflect the needs and sensitivenesses of peoples used to that culture. The assumption that presicely the same emphases will apply equally well in any other environment is unwarranted.

It is even questionable whether the moral awareness of western peoples is adequate to cope with the anti-moral tendencies of their culture, or whether it reflects in any large degree the motives and ideals of Christianity.[9] If it did many

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9 Professor Hocking rightly points out that social change always involves new moral hazards and new demands upon faith:

"... we set up false expectations when we conceive as our goal a world so far saved that it cannot be lost again. There is no warrant for any such expectation, either in the Gospels or in the history of mankind. We cannot banish the freedom of the will. Nor can we suppress the experimental trait which leads the human mind to devise new ways of thought and life, most of which are wrong and therefore short-lived. A new stage of thought is a new point of departure, from which men will try in new ways the rejection of the good. They are new modes of lostness; but they are also new requirements on our understanding of our own faith."--Hocking, op. cit., p.12.

existing conflicts and anomalies would not have arisen.[10] A given culture seems to select certain issues or themes as the subject of moral judgment, and to remain largely obtuse to other issues, however fraught with moral implications, because they remain outside the areas of its moral sensitiveness. The moral sensitivity of the church has generally been only slightly higher than that of the public at large.[11] Western society has, for instance, stressed sexual morality, but it has largely failed to perceive that the selfish use of private property likewise involves moral issues. The church has done little to correct this unbalanced emphasis. Hence it can hardly be said that western culture presents a properly balanced moral code worthy of the emulation of other peoples.

At the opposite pole lies the extreme of relativism; the view that no absolute moral standard exists, but that good and bad are purely relative terms referable only to particular acts within the specific conditions of a given society and situation. This view assumes that each culture has worked out for itself more or less adequately a philosophy of moral conduct, and that it is mere impertinence for Christianity or western culture to offer any suggestions to peoples of a different culture.

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10. E.g., the alignment of the Church on the side of special privilege as in Spain and Mexico and in industrial conflicts in the United States; perplexity as to pacifism; Christian tolerance of national self-aggrandizement, etc.

11. This does not imply failure of moral leadership on the part of the church so much as diffusion of influence throughout the whole mass of the people, and, reciprocally, the limitation of Christian advance by popular inertia. The Church is both "in" society, a permeating influence, and "outside" society, exerting moral judgment upom it. Cf. Leiper, H.S.: Christ's Way and the World's, in Church, State, and Society. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1936.) pp.53-54, et. seq.

Under real working conditions this view also is untenable. Both governments and missions are confronted with elements of behavior which they cannot condone, and it becomes necessary to take a positive attitude toward such behavior. Moreover, peoples once isolated are moving rapidly into the common stream of the world's life, so that divergent standards of morality or patterns of conduct involve increasing tensions and maladjustments. Missionaries and administrators have the common practical problem of mediating differences and seeking a workable relationship between peoples thrown into contact in the contracting modern world.

The writer holds that the true Christian position lies between the extremes here presented. Christianity does not present a ready-made pattern of conduct and set of moral standards, which can be imposed by fiat or adopted without adaptation by a simple act of will. On the other hand Christianity denies the relativist premise that moral conduct has no final and universal basis which can be applied in all situations and in all cultures. It claims to present such a basis in its principle of love toward God and man as the basic attitude of life.[12] But because

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12. Love, while the most adequate term we have for this relationship, requires expansion of meaning to avoid sentimentality. "If we consider history, we find that Christianity is the one religion under which men have fought for the rights of others, as well as for their own rights. It is the one religion under which the law of civil right has grown strong. It has a structural force which is not in any other religion of the world. Love is a key-word in many a religious tradition, but the love of men demanded by Christianity is a love devoid of indulgence, capable of severity, containing the salt of a just pugnacity. It contains in solution all that sternness which Nietzsche saw as necessary to creative power; and had we been sufficiently alive to that side of the gospel, much of the Nietzscheian bluster against Christianity would have been pointless, and the Marxian caricature of religion as a spineless yielding to wrong, palpably absurd." Hocking, op. cit. pp. 31-32.

that is a general principle and not a mere injunction of limited scope, it requires to be worked out in terms of practical behavior in all the relations of social living. This can be done within the general frame of any type of culture anywhere on earth; but it cannot be done in any culture without bringing into it profound and progressive changes. Christianity presents no final pattern from the outset; it comes rather as a ferment of new life, infusing fresh meaning into whatever patterns of conduct and culture it finds.

Hence the attitude of the missionary toward the Native culture may well be one of extreme patience and forbearance.. It is not his function to destroy that which he finds objectionable, but to arouse in his Native friends a sensitiveness of conscience which will assess and rectify all their habits and attitudes from within themselves, and which will gain in power as it is given scope. If the missionary is quick to appreciate the values inherent in the Native culture and to build upon them he will facilitate the progress of his people and save them from needless self-depreciation and cultural loss. At the same time the moral impact of the Christian Gospel may be directed against those practices or attitudes which the people themselves recognize as harmful, with confidence that its meaning and power will grow as the people attempt to practise it of their own volition. Some of the most fruitful missionary activity in Africa has been conducted on this basis with great patience and insight. In this way it is possible for Christianity to pass very early from the status of a foreign religion, and become naturalized as a force shaping the life of a people from within.

From this discussion it might be assumed that there would be special virtue in preserving and adapting to Christian ends such cultural elements as the old Bantu initiation rites. This has been done by at least one missionary body. But the values may be illusory. The adaptation might be managed in a way that would stamp the whole procedure with the mark of alien hands, and emphasize the break with the past rather than any continuity with the customs of the fathers. If this be the result--as may easily be if the white man is the prime mover--it would probably be better to let the old custom give place to something else. But if the idea emerges spontaneously out of the natural life and thought of the group, as the fulfilment of their own heritage and, at the same time, the expression of their aspirations toward larger life in the future, then it may be full of value. And so likewise with any other attempt at "adaptation." Spontaneity and natural growth are the desiderata, not adherence to any particular forms, whether derived from their own culture or from western life of Christian tradition.

The essential point is not the preservation of abolition of any particular element of Native culture, it is the deeper issue of making Christianity an integral, functioning, pervasive force in the lives of African peoples. In some older mission lands Christianity has continued too long to be foreign. It has been related only superficially to the living, functioning culture of the people. Thus it has tended to become increasingly formal and ineffectual; so that despite the increasing number of nominal Christians the vital power of Christianity in the lives of the people is declining. African missionaries may well ponder

the dictum of Dr.E.S.C.Handy, based on long and sympathetic observation of missions in Polynesia:

> If, in Africa, the evangelical missions fail to create a truly Native Church
> whose motivation is emotional rather than mainly intellectual or purely ethical,
> in which rhythmic dancing and singing have a place,
> which takes cognizance of Native psychic and mystic experience,
> whose forms and functions are rooted in Native life, background and environment,
> whose leaders are true Natives integrally a part of the Native community and are not mere preachers cut in the image of white missionaries,--
> if, I say, such a church is not created, the future Native evangelical church of Africa will be as sterile as is that of Polynesia.[13]

THE MEANING AND CONTENT OF EVANGELIZATION

All of the foregoing discussion leads inevitably to a second great question: how is the Christian mission to interpret its message, how mediate its Gospel to the lives of men and women so that they may appropriate its values and find that abundant life which is the burden of the Christian message? In a word, how shall missions conduct their task of evangelization?

Much captious and ill-informed criticism of missions centers around this matter of evangelism. On the one hand there is the self-styled "liberal-minded person" who finds it abhorrent that one person should seek the religious "conversion" of another. This attitude has gained favor through the unfortunate vulgarization of evangelism in western lands at the hands of professional exhorters. The crass emotionalism, the superficiality, and some-

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13 Handy, Dr.E.S.C., from a lecture on The State of Religion in Polynesia. Yale University, Department of Race Relations, April, 1936. (Not published.)

times the ignorance and vulgarity of such evangelists has brought the terms "evangelism" and "evangelist" into disrepute. Sensitive people shrink from such a presentation of religion. They may also react against the apparent self-interest of the church in seeking to augment its own numbers and importance. There is furthermore the general relativistic assumption of nineteenth century liberalism which, "canceling competing claims leaves the human mind immune to every religion's claim of final and supreme authority."[14] This point of view leads some to acquiesce in those practical activities of missions which have obvious social value--particularly medical work and education--while lacking any interest in evangelization. It has its roots in the secularist view that religion is a matter of only marginal significance, distinctly less important than education, health, and the like.

With this view the missionary finds himself sharply in conflict. He is not interested in education or medicine primarily as socially valuable ends in their own right, but only as they contribute to the upbuilding of the whole integral life of a man or woman. He does not regard religion as less important, but as supremely important in determining what kind of a person that man or woman is going to be, and hence what kind of a society there will be. He is not concerned with the upbuilding of the Christian church from any motives of pride or prestige, but in order that these same men and women may find their spiritual home in its fellowship, may be strengthened through

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14 Hocking, W.E.: Christianity and Intercultural Contacts. Journal of Religion, v.14, pp.131. (April 1934.)

its ministrations, and may find in it an organ through which to work for the good of others. The missionary would concur with that group of American churchmen which declared that:

> Evangelism is not a suddenly worked up plan to secure church members. It is the Spirit of Christ at work in the individual and in churches to lead folk to find in Christ the way of eternal life.[15]

Holding this view he cannot regard evangelism as other than supremely important.

But on the other hand there is the ardent missionary enthusiast who sees missions concerning themselves with a multiplicity of tasks apparently unrelated to evangelization, and who sincerely deplores this seeming diversion of emphasis from the "main task" of proclaiming the Gospel. Certain missions have seized upon this viewpoint to draw support for their own "exclusively evangelistic" work by diverting it from other missions which engage in a broader program of activity. Many supporters of missions believe that "direct evangelization" (i.e., preaching) should be the principal or even the sole activity of the mission worker.

On the field, however, the missionary is confronted by a set of conditions which often set at nought the preconceptions of the church in the homeland. He has to be guided by these conditions and interpret them as best he may to his constituency. And one of the discoveries which he makes is that the distinction of evangelization from medicine, education and the like, as a separate category, is largely false and misleading. It is worse than useless, because it vitiates one's

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15 Report of Special Committee on Associational Study, Washington-Union Association of Baptist Churches, New York State, 1936.

thinking by setting up an antithesis where there should be a unity. One mission in Congo recently asked its supporting societies to find substitutes for the administrative headings: "evangelism" "education," "medical work," and so forth, so that it would not appear that evangelism was a thing by itself external to any other aspect of missionary work. It was urged that nothing is attempted by the mission which is not designed to make the Christian Gospel more widely effective in the lives of African peoples, and that consequently no valid distinction could be drawn between evangelistic and non-evangelistic spheres of activity.

This viewpoint, which is the outgrowth of a half-century of growing experience, implies a broader conception of evangelization than the mere preaching of Christianity by word of mouth. The experience of this mission is indicative of the necessity that the evangelistic purpose express itself in varied forms of human helpfulness in order to remain real and vital. If it does not so express itself it becomes, sooner or later, stale, superficial, and devoid of real meaning--mere verbiage divorced from the actualities of life.

Nor are these varied activities to be regarded as "bait" -- as inducements to bring people into contact with the mission so that they may hear the Christian message proclaimed and explained. If they are extraneous to the message itself their use involves serious ethical questions and is of doubtful propriety. But their real justification lies in the fact that they are intrinsically a part of the Christian Gospel of release and fulfilment.

> If the Church were to cease to interest itself in the economic, social and intellectual advancement of the peoples of Africa and occuply itself mainly with caring for the "souls" of Africans through its evangelistic and pastoral work, a separation would be made between the religious growth of the African and his growth as a human being. The development of his natural powers and the improvement of the conditions of his earthly existence would come to be regarded as something secular and be set in competition with his spiritual allegience. The sense of the unity of life, which is now so strong in the African, would be sacrificed. The full meaning of the Gospel as having to do with the redemption of man's whole life would be obscured. If, on the other hand, the energies of the Church should become absorbed in humanitarian and cultural tasks, in a multiplicity of activities directed to intellectual enlightenment and social improvement, the Church would have betrayed its trust. These activities are saved from curruption and emptiness only when there shines on them a light from the eternal world. They find their true meaning and fulfilment only in the Christian experience of worship, prayer, fellowship and service. In either case the Church would fail to interpret life in itw wholeness, and to confront Africa as a whole with the Gospel and the decisions to which it calls.
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> The fundamental question, therefore, underlying all other decisions, is whether the mission boards and missions . . . are prepared courageously to accept the unending tension which must result from the effort to realize the Christian ideal in its full breadth and height and depth.[16]

If, then, the missionary is "moved with compassion" toward his people, and driven by the sincerity of his purpose to undertake all manner of activities for their benefit, he is not therein departing from the primary function of evangelization--the mediation of the Spirit of Christ so that others may grasp it. He is making Christianity a living experience, not a mere verbal profession. Every opportunity to do good is the means of a practical demonstration of the Gospel, and--more important still--every failure to seize such an opportunity is a denial in practice of the message he is trying to preach.

True evangelism is the living of a contagiously

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16 Oldham and Gibson: The Remaking of Man in Africa. pp.138-39.

Christian life, which means loving God and man with the whole might of one's being. Its hallmark is reality, sincerity, transparent honesty. Given this type of life, the form of professional activity through which one serves is a matter of minor consequence; the underlying attitude of heart and mind which colors one's relations with other people is the one essentially significant factor.

To a person of this type evangelization can never mean the imposition of his own view of life on other people. It is rather the sharing of the secret sources of power and guidance with any who desire to know them. But one can share only what one possesses, and hence evangelization is real and meaningful only to those whose religious experience is real and meaningful. Hence much criticism of missionary evangelism is pointless because it rests on no adequate basis of personal religious experience and conviction.

But there is other criticism for which the missionary has every reason to be grateful, namely that which points out unreached areas of human need or moral implication, or which suggests a more realistic approach to some problem. Thus there are today the problems of wealth and power as well as of weakness and poverty.

> In our own world, it is not alone the Bushmen and the Untouchables who are lost: it is the intelligent and the wealthy, the bourgeois and the proletariat-in-power, the governing as well as the governed, the institutions, the homes, the schools and universities. <u>They</u> are more prone to self satisfaction and false finalities than are the simple of the earth; it is still harder for them to be saved than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.
>
> Hence it is to them as well as to the poor in spirit that our compassion must go out. If we are indeed to pray for the salvation of the world, we must not address ourselves

> alone to those who are easiest to help. It is the true instinct of the great preacher that leads him to Corinth, to Athens, and then to Rome.
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> I fear that we must say of the preaching of our time especially on the mission field that it has evaded its hardest problems; it has addressed the multitudes, the poor and outcast, as it should have done; but it has avoided the scribes and pharisees, as it should not have done. To this extent it has been unworthy of its Master. It has shirked the labor of thought. It has not sought to save the world but only a fragment of the world.[17]

It does little good to plant chapels in the slum-yards of Johannesburg[18] as long as the vice-breeding conditions of the yards remain unchanged. The message of Christianity is directed at those points in every person's life at which he is capable of effective response. In the case of slums it is those who, having power to remedy conditions, permit vileness to continue, and those who profit thereby, whom Christianity must hold accountable, and not those who suffer by them. To bring home to slum-owners, employers and civic authorities a sense of moral responsibility leading to effective action would be just as truly an act of Christian evangelization as the moral reclamation of the slum-dweller. Both are necessary, and Christianity cannot fulfil its function as long as it neglects either side of its task. Evangelism properly includes every act by which men are impelled to discover and apply the "mind"of Christ" in relation to their own lives, including recognition and fulfilment of their social duties.

It is therefore impossible as well as unnecessary to discuss in any detail methods of evangelization. The primary method of evangelism is the impact of life on life, the inter-

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17 Hocking: Evangelism, pp. 10-11.

18 Cf. Hellman, E.: Native Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard. Africa, v.8, pp.34-62. (1935). Especially pp.58-60.

action of human personalities by which those who have a vital experience of God share it interpretively with others. Any conception which leaves out of account this interplay of lives is shallow and futile; any type of activity which encourages it is capable of becoming the vehicle or setting of effective evangelization. The rest is a question of quality and power of life.

THE PLACE OF THE CHURCH IN NATIVE SOCIETY

The Christian movement, however, involves something more than evangelism; it comes to fruition in the establishment of the Christian Church. This has been implicit in the previous discussion, it is now in order to consider it directly. Successful evangelism results in the emergence of a group of people who have taken Jesus Christ for their Lord and Leader, and who naturally band themselves together in consequence. This group is the beginning of a Church. The nurture of these young churches to strength and maturity is a very important part of the missionary's task, though this is sometimes overlooked by the people most eager to press forward in evangelism.

The functions of a church have already been suggested; they may be summarized here in a few words. First, the church constitutes a social group. It has its own corporate life, with periodic gatherings for worship, instruction and fellowship, by which the Christians are confirmed in their personal religious experience, guided in conduct and strengthened by mutual support and group interest. Secondly, the church relationship

represents a certain status in society with corresponding obligations and privileges. Through its power to confer and withdraw this status the church exercises control and discipline over its members and aherents. Thirdly, the church is the functioning organism in society through which the Christians effect their outreach to other people in evangelism and in various forms of service. And finally, the church is the organ of relationship between the local body of Christians and the Church Universal--the totality of Christians in all lands and all generations.

Although all these functions are exercised by the church, not all Christian bodies assign them equal importance. There is in particular a marked difference between the Roman Catholic and the general evangelical conceptions. The Roman Catholic view emphasizes the universality of the church as a single body, organically united under a single head, the Pope, functioning through its highly organized hierarchy of clergy, and mediating the divine will to its members through the supernatual efficacy of its sacraments and the authority of its tradition. In this scheme the local church is but a very diminutive dependent of the dominant central authority which is "the Church." So dominant is this central authority in the Roman Catholic view that to deny its supremacy is regarded as tantamount to cutting oneself off from fellowhip with the Church Universal. But though out of fellowship, every person is still in a latent relationship of dependence on the Church, since the Church is the sole mediator of divine grace to mankind. All men are <u>de jure</u> subjects of the Church in religious matters as

they are the subjects of the state in civil matters. Authority and centralization are thus the dominant elements in the Roman Catholic conception of the Church; and the primary duties of the church member are therefore subjection, obedience and support to enable the Church to attain its rightful place of auhtority ever more fully.

To this view the evangelical attitude stands in marked contrast. Central authority may exist as an administrative convenience, but the life of the church is conceived to inhere primarily in the local congregation. Divine grace is not mediated through the clergy by virtue of their office, nor through any agency external to the believer; it is regarded as the work of the Holy Spirit acting directly within the heart and life of the Christian in an intensely personal and intimate relationship. The corporate activity of the church as a group (the local congregation) is consequent upon the spparate personal religious experiences of the members rather than antecedent thereto. The church is a spontaneous, self-directing and self-realizing fellowship, democratically organized, and related to other like bodies more by a community of experience and interest than by ties of authority and organization. Yet the local church is, in its own eyes, something more than a merely human social group, and something less than locally self-contained and self-sufficient. Through corporate worship the individual experience of religion is deepened and intensified, so that the fellowship of the church is fellowship with God, and not merely with other men; and through its corporate outreach in far-flung

activities of fellowship and service the individual finds himself participating in something that suggests, even though remotely, the universal "Kingdom of God." Evangelical Christians have often been guilty of thinking in terms of "churches" rather than "the Church", but they have nevertheless preserved the ideal of the Church Universal as a spiritual unity transcending all organization.[19]

It is doubtful whether either of these views of the church ever can, or should, entirely prevail over the other. Rather it is to be hoped that the elements of value in each conception may be conserved and developed into a higher corporate expression of Christianity than has yet appeared. The development of truly indigenous church life in the frame of other cultures that those of the western world may afford favorable conditions for this process.[20] Catholic and Protestant are both busy at present developing their characteristic forms of church life in Central Africa, for instance. But in doing so, and in the face of the new conditions existing there, each may discover in the other elements of strength and value which he needs for himself, and the resultant African churches may resemble eachother more closely than their parents. Eventually it may even result that a single African church will emerge. But it is useless to prophecy regarding a contingency so remote.

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19 This view has been powerfully reinforced during recent decades by the common interest of world missions and the growth of national and international agencies of cooperation therein. See Mott, J.R.: Cooperation and the World Mission. (New York, International Missionary Council, 1935.) Also Fahs,C.H. and Davis,H.M.: Conspectus of Cooperative Missionary Enterprises.

20 Cf.Hocking,W.E.: Christianity and Intercultural Contacts. Journal of Religion, v.14, pp.127-38. (1934).

The immediate question is the relation of the Christian church to African society in the present and immediate future.

Both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant conceptions of the church have unique values and points of relationship to African society. Despite the apparent autocracy of some African potentates, African society, especially among the Bantu, is essentially democratic and locally self-directed. The characteristic organization of the Protestant church accords well with the Bantu temperament and social scheme. But Africans are also strongly community-minded, so that the Catholic conception of inclusive ministry to the whole community, of group solidarity in the church as in civil society, also has a very strong appeal. The Africanis docile, and bears the yoke of authority easily and cheerfully. Yet he is profoundly gifted with religious insight and social understanding, he rises to the challenge of responsibility and often develops remarkable powers of leadership and originality. Hence while he may be at home in the Roman Catholic Church, he enjoys the spontaneous religious life and the stimulus to personal growth which he finds in Protestantism. The Roman popular tradition of angels, demons and unseen spiritual powers accords well with the African conceptions and requires little mental readjustment, but the Protestant scepticism regarding such beings is more liberating from the trammels of ancient fears, more conducive to a rationalized view of the natural world. In a word, while Roman Catholicism demands less of the African than Protestantism, it makes correspondingly less change in his fundamental views, attitudes and motives; it is more easily satisfied and results in less development.

It is quite commonly perceived that the Christian church meets a real need for a continuing focus of social organization amid the general shifting of values and breakdown of older institutions of African society. The tribe, the clan, even the family, all the characteristic African social groups are suffering loss of prestige and of continuity with the past. Village life is disturbed by labor migration. European overrule disturbs the ancient landmarks of communal or tribal self-government. The African stands vastly in need of an institution possessing enough moral certitude, social cohesiveness, geographical extension and cultural prestige to serve as sheet-anchor amid the general change. This he finds no-where else as fully as in the Christian church. This fact doubtless accounts in part for the remarkable growth of the church in Africa in recent years.

But not all branches or forms of Christianity will serve equally well. It is possible to set down some of the conditions which the church must seek to fulfil if it is really to satisfy this need. It would be rash to assert that the following enumeration embraces all such conditions, but the importance of those here stated is manifest.

1. <u>The church must possess religious and moral conviction</u>. This does not necessarily mean the dogmatic authoritarianism of the Roman Catholic church nor assurance on all knotty issues of doctrine and interpretation. It does mean that it speaks as a group of people who have found a "way of life" in Christ and who are committed to that Way, and not as seekers who are still uncertain about the Way. The Christian group will certainly

not have thought through all the problems of Africa from the Christian standpoint. It is not necessary that they should have done so. But it is necessary that they should confront those problems with confidence that there is a Christian way of meeting them, with faith to attempt it, and with courage and vision borne of the age-long witness of the Church Universal. The church must choose between moral leadership and moral impotence, and that leadership can only be strong when it is based on assured religious faith.

2. The church must stand within the life of the African community rather than external to it. This implies a great deal. It means that mission and church will not seek to win converts "out of" the tribe or village into the church, but that church members will continue their normal relationship with tribe and village in every activity that is compatible with their Christian profession. They will not be abstracted to form "Christian villages" or "extra-customary centers" but remain as a leavening influence in Native society. The church will regard the whole community, rather than its own membership, as its proper field of influence. It will be interested in the whole life of the community and in all its activities.[21] It may never succeed in winning the whole community to its own standards and ideals in every respect, but it can never be content to think and act in smaller terms.

3. The church must be realistic and effective in changing the lives of its members; in helping them to find peace, poise,

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21 This is further discussed in chapter 7.

moral strength and wholesomeness of life beyond that common to the non-Christians. Frothy sentimental "conversions" on the part of the Protestant groups, or superficial acceptance of Catholicism with outward conformity may swell the number of nominal Christians, but they add weakness rather than strength to the church. The church must shun easy formulas, shibboleths, and outward forms, and quest continually after character and quality of life.

4. The church must seek the ablest leadership in the Native community. Its potential significance is too great to be entrusted to men of second-rate ability who cannot win the respect and confidence of all. This does not mean entering into "unholy alliance" with chiefs or notables who are unsympathetic to Christianity or unworthy in life. The church stultifies itself when it becomes a respecter of persons in this sense. But ability must be continually sought, younger leaders trained and given opportunity for development, and the career of pastor, teacher or evangelist made attractive to men of first-rate ability. There must be vision and resource in developing lay leadership, in entrusting responsibility to Native groups and leaders, and in developing a program worthy of the interest and support of the whole community.

5. The church must remain flexible and resilient in the face of changing conditions. from the earliest days the Christian community, especially among Protestants, has been encouraged to work out the applications of the Gospel to its own problems. The rules thus formulated constitute a growing body of Christian tradition. But there is a tendency to regard this

tradition as immutable law--as something to be accepted without further inquiry by the present generation. This legalistic attitude is dangerous. Conditions change, experience accumulates, horizons widen as larger and larger bodies of Christians have opportunities for fellowship together. Moreover the experience of thinking through practical issues from problem to solution is too valuable to forego. It is a process with which Africans are familiar in their own courts, where an alert public opinion exercises judgment.[22] The church has a unique opportunity to develop this heritage of social awareness into a Christian social conscience of great power for the re-shaping of African life. But to this end the leaders of the church must resist the present tendency to codify the fluid and emergent tradition of Christian attitudes and decisions. There must continue to be reference to first principles rather than a facile and superficial application of rules.

6. Finally, the church must avoid the eternal pitfalls of spiritual movements. It must not become engrossed in economic or other material betterments to the neglect of its proper emphasis on life and spiritual verities. It must avoid cheap gains by superficial and spectacular methods and rely on the slower processes of normal and healthy growth. It must avoid dependence on force. The influence of government, the white man's prestige,

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22 Civil justice also tends to become externalized under white rule. Even where European law does not supercede Native tradition, there is often a move to codify the latter, with resultant fixation instead of the needed flexibility to accomodate to further changes in the structure of society. The law becomes "that which is written in the book" instead of "that which we and our fathers have found good and right."

the power of a chief, the compulsion of school discipline--these are not proper means to use to secure a hearing for the Gospel or a foothold for the church. The great danger in their use is not the inevitable reaction against a Christianity so propagated, it is the stultification of the Christian messenger and the inherent weakness of a message supported by these adventitious aids. If the church adheres with single-minded intensity to its one great purpose--that of making the mind and will of Christ regnant in the life of Africa--the importance of its contribution can hardly be overestimated. The danger is that it may be content with something less than a full realization of that purpose.

THE TRAINING OF AN AFRICAN MINISTRY

The quality of the Christian witness in any land or age is largely dependent on the character and quality of its leaders. This is as true in Africa as elsewhere, and it results that no mission can begin too early to pre-occupy itself with the training of Native Christian leaders. Most African missions have in fact included leadership training in their program from the very beginning. Some of the most outstanding achievements of missions in Africa lie in this field.

But there also the need for adaptation to African conditions has not always been realized sufficiently. Institutions modelled on European normal and theological schools have been built up in Africa, sometimes at great expense. Roman Catholic priests in Congo and Uganda pass through the same rigor-

ous training in Latin, philosophy, and theology as seminarists in Europe, and are sent to Rome to conclude their preparation for the priesthood. No Protestant group in central Africa makes provision for ministerial training of such rigor and duration, but some Protestant schools are doubtless almost equally remote from the actualities of African life in their outlook and program.

Yet the Christian leader in Africa is the child of an African community and goes back to such a community as interpreter of a more abundant life which must express itself in terms that that community can grasp. His training should fit him for this interpretive function. It cannot do this adequately unless the training school is also profoundly aware of the African community. No adaptation of a European training course can be adequate for an African school. The whole program needs to be developed with the African community and the teacher's interpretive function in view. The suggestions offered in this section are the consequence of this requirement.

Rural and urban situations. The two general settings of the church in central Africa today are the rural or village situation which is historically continuous with traditional tribal life, and the urban or labor-settlement situation which is sharply at variance with tribal ways. The problems of these two situations differ, and the same program of church activities, the same types of leadership, or the same training for such leaders will not always apply equally well to the two settings. The differences, however, are differences of application of the same principles. The school must have its own situation and

cultural milieu in view and adapt itself accordingly.

Personal qualifications. Candidates for leadership training should of course be persons whose life and character have won the commendation of the church; and their general education should reach the standard prevailing in their community. The religious life and teaching of the school should be such as to deepen and stimulate their personal experience of religion, clarify their understanding of it, and equip them to interpret Christianity to their own people.[23] These requirements would apply to Christian leadership training almost anywhere. But there remains the whole question of the student's relation to the community he is to serve, and his training to be effective in that relationship. It is here that skilful adaptation is essential. The following suggestions indicate the application of community awareness in leadership training. They are largely the result of the writer's experience in this field at Kimpese.

1. Continuity with normal African community life should be preserved. The whole character of the training should contribute to this end. School life should preserve the patterns of village life wherever possible. For students with rural background, subsistence agriculture is the normal economic basis, so it should be continued in the school along village lines. In the case of married students family life should be preserved intact, the whole family coming into the school community. All instruction should be continually related to the life of the community, not only as subject matter for future teaching or preaching, but in concrete reference to such experiences of daily life as it

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23 In this connection see Chapter 7.

illustrates or interprets or supplements. Material incapable of such reference should be eliminated from the curriculum. Housing, dress, and daily program should at least be reminiscent of those elements in ordinary Native life, even though they are in advance of the average attainment. Social organization of the school community and its methods of self-government should spring from the native patterns rather than from the ideas of the missionary. Recreational interests and the religious life of the school should preserve the best Native traditions and aspirations, and not pass beyond stages that are reproducible under community conditions. These requirements may seem at first sight to hamper the attainments possible in the school; but actually they will only keep the school from developing an artificial school life of little value to the Native leader because he cannot reproduce it. They make the school an effective center of adaptation and interpretation of alien elements to Native life and culture--which it should be--instead of leaving the burden of that interpretation on the shoulders of the unequipped Native teacher.

2. <u>The school should emphasise social thinking and understanding</u>. It should help the students formulate a comprehensive view of their people's traditional culture, indicate the nature of the changes no taking place and the forces producing them, show how and why Christianity is relevant to these issues, develop a critical consciousness, and seek solutions for real issues with which they will be confronted. This type of thinking should not be confined to special subjects or class periods alone, important as these are, but should permeate the

whole thought life of the school exactly as the religious motive should do. Every opportunity should be used to apply in real life the results of this social and religious thinking. The opportunities for this are enormously increased in the personnel of the school is mainly families rather than unmarried adolescents.

3. The school should emphasize practical training applicable in Native community life. The aim is not, of course, to produce craftsmen able to compete with vocational school graduates or industrial workers. Rather it should fit students to render practical service to their communities in whatever ways are found needful. If better housing is needed, let the school work at the problem and develop the best possible type of house out of available materials. Let housing become a project for continuing study, in which graduates and friends of the school may take part as well as students. Problems of hygiene and sanitation abound in Africa, and afford opportunity for the development of practical techniques to which any intelligent group of students may make significant contributions. A practical course on village hygiene will suggest to the alert student a whole train of community betterments which he can promote as he shares his new understanding of disease prevention with others. Agricultural methods may be capable of much refinement, and crops can be diversified and new products introduced with advantage. Attention may be directed to the traditional crafts, not that the religious leader need learn them all, or any of them, but by his knowledge of their existence and potential usefulness he may be able to provide his people with a means of more com-

fortable living or possibly of greater income. The possibilities of recreation and artistic expression in village life should be explored so that the future leader may help make that life more attractive and relieve the ennui which so easily leads to vice. In all these directions the training of the religious leader should fit him to deal with the problems and limitations which will confront him in his work. They will, of course, be additional to the specialized professional training his calling requires, whether as teacher or as preacher and pastor, or in whatever other field of service.

The training of women, especially the wives of religious leaders, affords opportunity to deal with some of the outstanding needs of the Native community. Problems of motherhood and child-care can be dealt with only in such a group. Home-making and housekeeping under village conditions offer a large field for study and improvement. Problems of conduct and social customs relating to women need to be worked out in their Christian bearings. Food preparation is important in relation to hygiene and health, and also with respect to the complex effects of dietary insufficiency under changed living conditions. The character of the Christian home depends primarily on the training and attitude of the women. Wives of Christian leaders can set an example in this respect which may be of profound value to the community. The importance of training them with their husbands has not been sufficiently realized. Some schools have made progress in this direction, but very much remains to be done.[24]

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24 See: Report of a Conference on the Training of Women and Girls. Léopoldville, 1934. (Léopoldville, Conseil Protestant du Congo)

4. The school must keep the leader in step with his group. Anything that would create a disharmony in thinking or in interests between the leader and the group he is to serve must be avoided. Excessive emphasis on literary or "bookish" education may have this effect, especially education in a European language or using European books. Where a European educational tradition has been dominant for a long time the problem may be acute, especially if the effort is made to substitute an educational program of a more practical and socially effective type.[25] Elsewhere it should be possible to avoid this difficulty by taking thought in advance. Where the range of cultural development is great, ranging from tribalism to complete Europeanization, it may be well-nigh impossible for one type of leader to serve all classes effectively, but this condition is probably not a frequent one in central Africa. It is to be foreseen, of course, that the type of leadership training required will change as the surrounding conditions change; very much as it has done in America in such institutions as Hampton Institute or Penn School.

All of these considerations are designed to fit the Christian teacher, pastor, and other types of leader, and through them the African church, for more wise and effective self-direction and advance. It is only as such capable leaders emerge that the African church can advance in achievement and in power.

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25 Cf. Latham, G.C.: Indirect Rule and Education in East Africa. Africa, v.7, (1934) pp.433-50.

CHAPTER 5

THE ACTIVITY OF MISSIONS--MEDICAL WORK

Among all the fields of contact between the white and colored races there is probably none in which the net results have been more beneficial than in medicine. It may be true in specific instances that the white man has introduced diseases hitherto unknown, and that the indigenous population, taken unawares and having developed no immunity through previous exposure, has suffered severely from the onset of such diseases.[1] But it is likewise true that white medicine and sanitation have greatly reduced the indidence of disease in many areas and bid fair shortly to eradicate certain once deadly scourges from the face of the earth.

Yet however favorable the balance sheet, it does not excuse the participant in race contacts from taking further thought. It has been insisted repeatedly that one cannot change any single phase of a people's life without repercussions on all phases, that it is quite impossible to modify any single culture trait in isolation because the interplay of functions and meanings makes all phases of a culture mutually interdependent.

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1 Evidence for this in repect to Belgian Congo is discussed in: La Question Sociale au Congo. Rapport au Comité du Congrès Colonial National. (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque-Congo, 1924.) pp.59-65.

The introduction of western medicine to a people is therefore bound to react in many unexpected ways upon their habits and outlook. It is not enough, then, that the medical man should do his work faithfully and well in his own special field; there is need also to watch the indirect effects of medical work and see that they too are kept wholesome and constructive. The present chapter will attempt to sketch the general character of these indirect effects and to suggest the most promising lines of attack upon some of the resulting problems. To do this it will be necessary first to outline Bantu medical thought and practice as it existed before the advent of western medicine. Next the scope and character of present-day medical agencies in central Africa will be presented. The effect of western medicine on Bantu life and culture can then be considered. This will lead to certain suggestions for the correction of deficiencies and the enhancement of the values of medical work as it now exists, in relation to the total life of the people.

THE CHARACTER OF BANTU MEDICAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

The medical ideas and practices of many African peoples have been described in detail in ethnographic treatises. While these differ in different tribes, there is still a general similarity for the whole of central Africa, the underlying conceptions being very much the same among all Bantu peoples and some of their non-Bantu neighbors.

Bantu generally regard good health and happiness as the normal state; ill-health, misfortune and death being aberra-

tions assignable to the influence of some malignant power. In all serious cases, therefore, the rationale of treatment is directed at the discovery of the nature and source of the evil influence, and at inhibiting its power to harm the patient further. The exact procedure naturally varies with the case.

At least three types of malign powers may be distinguished in Bantu thought; though the Bantu are not given to sharp definition of their concepts. These types are: witchcraft, possession or "intrusion", and enmity from the spirit world.

Witchcraft. Of these witchcraft was probably the most feared, invalving, as it did, the intent of some living being to do harm. Witchcraft did not necessarily mean recourse to occult practices, it might result from nothing more than secret hatred or a chance word spoken in passing anger. One stood in danger of releasing unsuspected forces of evil upon one's adversary by the gesture or even the secret thought of enmity; and if evil did so befall him one's responsibility for it could hardly be questioned or denied. In extreme cases it was even possible to be a witch without knowing it. Hence many African peoples regard the utterance of any word of abuse with reprobation, as being a dangerous anti-social act.[2]

There were many procedures for the detection of witchcraft and the discovery of the culprit; and trial by ordeal, usually by means of the poison cup, was commonly resorted to in such cases. Some tribes seem to have suspected witchcraft whenever anybody died, others were willing to ascribe some deaths

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2 Cf.Evans-Pritchard: Witchcraft. In Africa, v.8,pp.419-20.(1935)

to natural causes or to forces from the spirit world for which no human agent was responsible. But at best the number of cases in which the death penalty was exacted for witchcraft must have been apalling.

Possession or intrusion. The variety of cases which may be grouped together under the heading of possession or intrusion illustrate the pragmatism of Bantu medical beliefs. It is perfectly obvious that many types of physical ailment are associated with the presence of foreign substances or organisms in the body; and that in certain instances the removal of the intruder relieves the patient. Filaria is a striking instance: the worm grows in the blood-vessels, get entangled in the small superficial veins and has to be drawn out through an incision. Intestinal worms are ejected by purges. Sores and ulcers only heal when the matter ceases to come out. For the Bantu the lines between the physical and the spiritual are never sharply drawn, and it is easy to extend these instances step by step into the spiritual realm. The fever-fire leaves the patient and he recovers. The restless spirit ceases to trouble the delirious or insane man and he becomes rational again. Still more striking is the visitation of the violent spirit of epilepsy, which lays hold on the body of the victim and convulses it and leaves him exhausted. In all these cases there appears to be a definite relation between the disease and some intrusive element or being. Hence it is natural to treat them all by removing or expelling the intruder.

It is likewise natural to suspect that a spiritual intruder is involved even where the physical agent is visible

or palpable, i.e., to ascribe physical ailments to spiritual or magical causes; and to seek remedies in the realm of magic--in efforts at compulsion of the spiritual forces rather than simply in direct treatment of the physical symptoms. It may properly be emphasized that the Bantu practice is no less logical than western medicine in thus attempting to reach causes rather than merely palliate symptoms. The difference is simply in the set of presuppositions on which the procedure is based. In relation to the data available and the cosmological framework within which it developed, Bantu medicine is by no means unintelligent.

Enmity of the spirits. The enmity of the unseen powers of the spirit world was a source of incessant anxiety to the Bantu tribesman. His own ancestors could ordinarily be satisfied by the customary acts of ritual remembrance and abstinence (i.e., tabu), though they might become offended and bring misfortune or distress upon their offspring. But there were innumerable other beings whose nature was essentially malignant, and into whose hands one might fall at any unguarded moment. Against them amulets, charms, and all the paraphernalia of magic were employed. The wise man provided himself with fetishes as a protection, and sought the services of the nganga, the "witch-doctor" or shaman, whenever he felt himself particularly menaced. If a human enemy was suspected of willing that these beings unleash their energies against one, it was natural to invoke the aid of the nganga in parrying thrust with counterthrust and turning the evil back upon the sender. In this way fear of impalpable evil might very readily

lead one to connive at practices very like witchcraft. Thus the vicious circle closes upon itself--the primitive counterpart of the modern international race in armaments!

Medicine and magic were thus inseparable in Bantu culture. Healer, fetish-maker and witch-finder all belonged to the same general class, the nganga[3]; exorcism played a prominent part in the treatment of disease; the virtue of medicine was conceived largely if not exclusively in magical terms. The reception of European medicine by Bantu peoples must be considered in the light of these prepossessions.

THE PENETRATION OF WESTERN MEDICINE

Agencies of medical effort. Beyond question medicine has been one of the most widely disseminated and eagerly welcomed activities of the white man, especially during the past two decades. In most parts of central Africa missionaries were the first to attempt any medical care of the people; and mission hospitals and dispensaries still represent an important segment of the total service available. The throngs of patients treated daily at almost any mission station are an impressive witness to the importance of this service and the eagerness with which it is sought. At the same time when one studies the map and observes the distances which separate these establishments, and when one considers the slow and primitive means of transport

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3 The general class nganga included, among some peoples, as many as fifty distinct types of practitioner. Cf. Weeks, J.H.: Among the Primitive Bakongo. (London, 1914.) Details in support of much of the foregoing description of Bantu medicine will be found in Weeks, as in other ethnographic treatises.

which still prevail over much of Africa, one realizes that many villages are still beyond the reach of effective medical and surgical assistance.

Industrial enterprises and commercial posts have of late years found it necessary to provide medical care for their employees. In general this has been required by colonial governments in the case of aggregations exceeding a certain size. Naturally these medical centers also serve the surrounding regions, at least to a limited extent.

Finally the governments themselves have established medical services, which, though still inadequately staffed, for the most part, are waging successful war on the most serious maladies of the colonies and pioneering in large-scale public health activities. In certain colonies, notably Belgian Congo, the government health service provides the framework of organization and leadership within which the co-operation of non-goverhmental agencies is warmly welcomed; thus effecting the most efficient distribution of health agencies and making possible concerted efforts against sleeping-sickness, yaws and other eradicable diseases.

Intensive campaigns. It is these widespread and long-continued campaigns against disease that bring medicine forcibly within the experience of the whole population. Thus the Belgian campaign under the leadership of the FOREAMI[4] provides for the enrollment of every inhabitant of an administrative area

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4 I.e., Fonds "Reine Elisabeth" pour l'Assistance Médicale aux Indigènes, the most important agency engaged in the campaign against trypanosomiasis in Belgian Congo.

by families, notation of his state of health, examination for trypanosomiasis (African sleeping-sickness), and cumpulsory treatment if infected. The examination is repeated at intervals, (usually every six months until the incidence of the disease has been reduced nearly to the vanishing point, and thereafter annually.) Whole villages are called up for examination together, and every individual is required to be present unless physically unable to do so. Every person desiring to travel by public conveyance is required to undergo examination before a ticket can be purchased. Thus the white doctor, the Native medical assistants and injectors, and the procedures of examination and treatment become a familiar element in the experience of every Native in the areas covered by this intensive campaign. And it is planned to extend the campaign by stages until the whole of Belgian Congo has been cleansed of sleeping-sickness.

The effectiveness of this type of campaign as well as its extent and duration also impresses the Native. He observes that the patients discovered in time and treated with hypodermic injections actually do recover. He notices, moreover, that the disease becomes less and less common as examinations are repeated. Thus the white medicine gains in prestige, and the influence of the nganga declines proportionately.

Use of Native assistants. Moreover it is significant that in this type of medical activity Native medical assistants play a large and increasingly important part. Endowed with remarkable manual dexterity and sureness of touch, and with keen vision and thoroughness and patience, it has been found that the Native develops quickly into a skilful injector or microscopist.

The limited white staff perforce turns to Native assistants wherever possible in order to encompass at all the vast task they have in hand. But it has been found that within the limits of their training the Native assistants are often fully as competent as Whites would be; so there is every advantage in assigning to them practically all of the routine activity of examination and treatnment of large numbers of people. Thus western medicine ceases to be exclusively a white man's preserve, and the villager observes that it is an African like himself who actually manipulates the hypodermic needle and the microspope. And those young men who enter the ranks of the medical service are introduced to the procedures of western medicine, and to the rudiments at least of scientific reasoning and theory.

THE CULTURAL EFFECTS OF WESTERN MEDICINE

Of the practical efficacy of western medicine in lengthening the span of life, relieving suffering and reducing the incidence of disease in central Africa there can be no question. But the total cultural effect is more complex and less obvious. It is primarily psychological in character.

Western medicine viewed as magic. If the African's acquaintance with western medicine is limited to observing or undergoing treatment, with no adequate opportunity to learn the rationale of scientific thinking which underlies it, then the introduction of western medicine amounts simply to the substitution of one fetish for another. The white doctor is observed

outdoing the nganga at his own game of healing. Then the white man's magic is the stronger, his gods more powerful, his command over the unseen world more sure. So reasons the African, within the premises of his own conception of medicine. It is safe to say that the hypodermic needle is the most powerful fetish in Africa today. The apparatus and procedures of the new medicine are different, but there is nothing about them to demonstrate to the African, by mere observation, that they are based on principles unlike those with which he is familiar. Thus far the cultural gain from western medicine is negligible.

Destructive effects. But the cultural loss from its introduction is not negligible. The prestige of the nganga as healer is reduced or destroyed, and with it goes much or all of his prestige in relation to the whole spiritual world. For it has been shown above that for the Bantu the interpenetration of medicine and magic (in the sense of control over the spirit world) was complete. Thus western medicine comes as a severe shock to the whole fabric of Bantu magico-religious conceptions. The foreign gods are stronger; why then continue to revere the old ones? The break with the relatively stable past which is implicit in the white man's coming in any capacity is particularly acute when he comes as a doctor.

But when confidence in the old tradition dies, the moral sanctions based in that tradition lose their binding power. It is not unfair to say that the nganga was the moral and social policeman of the tribal community. It was he who preserved the regularity of things, he who called down punishment on the nonconformist. The weakening of his authority is thus a direct

blow at the whole moral framework of primitive society. Some colonial administrations have endeavored to suppress the nganga by force, with the result that the people felt themselves delivered into the power of witchcraft without protection against it.[5] The psychological effect of western medicine tends in the same direction, but with greater subtlety. If the impaired psychic and moral equilibrium is to be restored it is essential (1) that a rational understanding of the natural world be substituted for the African cosmogony of magic, and (2) that a basis be provided for the moral and social reconstruction of African life adequate for the puppose and not inconsistent with that rational understanding of nature. The second desideratum can be provided by Christianity, provided that its presentation is free from obscurantism. The first must be the result of education, and in it the proper teaching of health and hygiene to the masses of the people may have a most important place.

Conflicting world-views. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." The serious cultural consequences of western medicine are the result of a superficial acquaintance with it, sufficient to experience its power, but not to comprehend the world-view on which it is based. There can be no turning back in the penetration of western medicine into Africa. The direct claim of human suffering on the white man's power to relieve it is too insistent. Then the claims upon his ability to relieve the mental and moral maladjustments that result from his coming

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5 See three articles in Africa, v.8,(1935): Orde Brown, G. St.J.: Witchcraft and British Colonial Law. pp.481-7. Roberts, C.C.: Witchcraft and Colonial Legislation. pp.488-94. Melland, F.: Ethical and Political Aspects of African Witchcraft,pp.495-503.

are no less valid, even though less obvious than the former. The spirit-world in which magic and sorcery are natural denizens must give place to the universe characterized by order and law which scientific study has made intelligible to man, and to a conception of God and of spiritual things not inconsistent with what can be known of that universe. This profound intellectual revolution, which has been in progress in the western world for centuries and is not yet complete, is inevitable for the African too. Under the pressure of increasingly intimate contact with the outer world it is bound to take place with disconcerting rapidity. It will threaten the intellectual coherence of the African community, if not necessarily the mental integrity of the individual. But the latter too may be endangered, especially if the presentation of Christianity and the content of general education fail to keep within the African's changing mental horizons, and to assist him in his progressive adjustment to an enlarging world.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MISSIONS

The problems raised by medical activity, whether missionary or non-missionary, thus revert immediately to fields of interest in which missions are deeply concerned. And, of course, a very large part of the medical work itself is being done by the missions, and will doubtless continue to be. The relief of suffering is so pre-eminently an exemplification of Christianity that where medical need exists which a mission can find any possible means of meeting, it is almost sure to do so. The

special field of medicine lies entirely outside the field of discussion of this book, and it would therefore be sheer presumption were the author to intrude any suggestions bearing on that field. The present discussion is concerned with the broader social implications of missionary medical activity, and in that field the argument developed in the preceding pages does result in certain fairly definite conclusions. These may be stated as follows:

1. General health education should be stressed. Both theory and practice should receive attention in all schools, especially in community education through the village schools. The content of this instruction should persistently but unobtrusively stress the rational basis for health practices. Stories of scientific investigation, experiments and demonstrations in and around the school, practical measures of fly control, food preservation, disposal of waste, personal hygiene, and the like, should be included. Every lesson should conclude with a résumé in which its direct application to life under Native conditions would be made clear. Positive teaching, with convincing demonstrations wherever possible, should make clear what us known regarding diseases associated in the Native mind with supernatural powers. The reasons for the treatments used by white doctors and their relevance to the known facts about the disease should be stressed. Coupled with all this, there might well be excursions into other realms of science, especially where they impinge on medicine. In this way the foundations o would be laid for rational understanding of the world, and thus the need for recourse to magical or spiritistic explanations

would be gradually lessened until complete escape from them became possible.[6]

2. The missions alone can provide adequate successors to the old nganga, and the study of his functions in Native society should afford useful suggestions as to the character and training of the leaders of the emergent African society. It is improbable that a single individual will fill all rôles now any more than formerly. The pastor, the village teacher or teacher-catechist, the teacher in a higher grade of school, the out-post or travelling dispenser, the supervising teacher of the "Jeanes" type, the medical examiner, injector and microscopist--all these correspond in some part of their functions to some phase of activity of the old nganga. All of these together must combine to interpret the new world-view which is adequate to replace the old one. The combination of science and technical skill, knowledge and the ability to share it, adequate moral sanctions and spiritual dynamic, is only to be found in the whole group taken together. But it is important that all these should be possessed of a common aim and outlook. It would be disastrous for the re-integration of Native life if these interpreters of the new values fail to agree among themselves--if for instance the scientific outlook of the medical assistant, which is bound to become more intense as he is more and more fully trained, should be seriously at variance with the religious understanding of the pastor. Hence missions may well take

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6 A first attempt in this field, very well conceived and executed, is to be found in Mabie, C.L.,M.D.:Quarante Leçons d'Hygiène. (In Kikongo. Kimpese, E.P.I. Press, 1935.) (English translation available in manuscript from the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, London.)

an active part in the training of all these types of leadership for African peoples. And intolerance, either toward scientific investigation or toward religious experience, must be ruled out completely.

No opinion is hazarded here as to whether the witch-doctor may be allied with the process of development. In the field of medicine he is surely bound to give place to the man trained in rational western medicine. The Nganga's prestige was always proportionate to his ability, and in medicine he is definitely outstripped by his white or white-trained competitor. (However his pharmaceutical repertoire should certainly be studied, for evidence is not wanting that it contains valuable elements.[7]) But as a moral force in the community it would certainly be hazardous to generalize. As long as the fear of witchcraft persists people will undoubtedly have recourse to the nganga for protection against it. Yet it is undesirable to perpetuate the institution by recognizing the anti-witchcraft activities of the nganga as legitimate. Christianity certainly cannot appear to legitimize anti-witchcraft activity for the sake of the more retarded peoples without gravely compromising its power to deliver the more advanced from the fear of witch-craft entirely. But a more understanding attitude on the part of Christian leaders, a recognition that the nganga was a bul-wark of Native society in its traditional development, might sometimes make it possible to secure his co-operation in the furtherance of Christianity and Christian moral conceptions in

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7 E.g., Smith, E.W.: Inzuikizi. In Africa, v.8,p.473. "I have the best of reasons for saying that some [native drugs] are therapeutically effective."

communities where he is still a powerful figure. Such collaboration might greatly ease the strain of transition without doing violence to anyone's convictions or moral scruples.

3. Mothercraft and child welfare should be further emphasised. The training of midwives and specialists in child-care and domestic hygiene affords a large and needy field for the practical interpretation of scientific knowledge and Christian sympathies. Elementary training in hygiene and infant welfare should certainly have an important place in the education of all girls and women; but there is also room for more advanced training, perhaps for several grades of training. Teachers' wives, for instance, should certainly receive practical training that will enable them to advise and assist in maternity cases and in child welfare work in the villages. Female students in the training schools attached to hospitals would properly receive a more thorough and scientifically adequate training in the same general field. In a number of instances it has been found that men also, if properly trained as accoucheurs, are able to render very effective service in that capacity.

4. Christian understanding and scientific thought must be compatible. Explicit reference must be made to this issue, which has entered the discussion somewhat obliquely several times. The writer is strongly of the opinion that no presentation of Christianity should be made in Africa which is at variance with the fullest obtainable knowledge of the world in which we live, including both science and history as sources of that knowledge. Despite its great capacity for retaining incompatible ideas, the

mind cannot function effectively without a self-consistent conception of reality. It is imperative that the African peoples whose unified world-view is being attacked at so many points should be helped to find a more adequate understanding of the world and of life's meaning. The Christian conception of life and the scientific conception of an ordered universe are twin elements--they are rather the two foci of this more adequate understanding. It will not do to have them presented as inconsistent one with the other. Science,within its own realm as science, may properly be agnostic. That is, it may disclaim knowledge of the realm of values and purposes beyond its ken. It may not properly or honestly deny the existence of that larger realm. But religion, professing faith in the Creator, cannot properly be indifferent to any attempt to explore His creation; nor can it rest content with an unresolved inconsistency in its understanding of God and the world. Hence anyone who undertakes to present Christianity to African peoples ought first to have faced candidly the full implications of scientific and historical studies, including also the social sciences, and to have resolved for himself the problems of re-interpretation of Christian meanings resulting therefrom. Only then is he prepared to face the further problems of interpreting Christianity within a different culture. Of course he will not attempt to convey to the Africans his own train of thinking in its entirety. But he will satisfy his own conscience at all times that he is not, by a superficial and inaccurate expression of Christianity today, laying stumbling-blocks in the African's pathway of tomorrow.

CHAPTER 6

THE ACTIVITY OF MISSIONS -- EDUCATION

The preceding chapters lead directly into the field of education, for, as soon as one escapes the heresy that education is confined within the four walls of the school room, it is plain that the whole complex process of change which Africa is undergoing (in common with other non-western lands) is an educative process. Africa today is being re-educated at an unprecedented rate, and all the forces that impinge on African life from the outside world have a share in that re-education whether they will or no.

Viewed in this light the question whether missions shall take part in African education is merely rhetorical. Missions cannot help teaching. Any presentation of Christianity involves the introduction of new ideas, attitudes and habits, along with new knowledge. The presence of the missionary himself is a personal link with the great outer world hitherto largely unknown. Even though unconsciously, he is an emissary of culture as well as a missionary of Christianity. But it is better that he should be aware of the complex character of his influence, that he may more truly distinguish the essentials of his message from the accidents of his own cultural heritage.

This inevitable educational effect is not, however, necessarily accompanied by actual participation in formal school work. There have been missions in Africa which clung so tenaciously to the limited "direct evangelization" conception of their task that they declined to undertake any effective educational program. But such missions have been few. For the most part missionaries have come very early to recognize that educational effort is an essential part of their function, and that neglect of it is bound to impair the vitality, stability, and permanence of their whole work. The evangelistic and educational emphases cannot be separated. They are twin aspects of the same function, not separate entities.

> In dealing with the same living individual, education and evangelism are seeking, each in its own way, the same end. That end is the salvation and perfecting of the whole man. Salvation means that nothing of the man should be lost or wasted, that he should be delivered from everything that thwarts or mutilates his growth, and that he should develop to the full the best that is in him. The aim of evangelism is not to win adherents to a particular set of beliefs, but to reveal to men the truth of their own existence in order that they may find and realize their own true selves. If that truth is given in Christ, then the final purpose both of evangelism and of education can be achieved only through the answer of the whole man to the Christian revelation. Education will fall short of its purpose if it evades the ultimate issues of life. Evangelism, on the other hand, must be completed by education, since the God to whom man is asked to surrender his heart is "a stupendously rich reality," Creator as well as Redeemer, the Author of all truth, beauty and goodness.[1]
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> . . . Christian education takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, domestic and social, not with a view to reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate, and perfect it, in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ.
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> Hence the true Christian, product of Christian edu-

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1 Oldham and Gibson: The Re-making of Man in Africa. pp.20-21.

> cation, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges, and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right reason illuminated by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ; in other words, to use the current term, the true and finished man of character . . . . The true Christian does not renounce the activities of this life, he does not stunt his natural faculties; but he develops and perfects them, by co-ordinating them with the supernatural. He thus enobles what is merely natural in life and secures for it new strength in the material and temporal orders, no less than in the spiritual and eternal.[2]

These two quotations represent the leading conceptions, in Protestant and Roman Catholic circles respectively, of the importance of education to a full-orbed and effective Christianity.

Actually, in central Africa, education is very largely in the hands of the missions, in some colonies exclusively so. This is partly the result of historical development. The missions were first on the scene; schools were necessary for their own ends, especially (in the case of Protestant missions) in order that the African Christians might be able to read the New Testament for themselves; and so the misions established schools. Government, following afterward, had neither the means nor the personnel to disturb this state of things, even had it desired to do so. But in most instances the government has welcomed this activity of the missions. Where government has interested itself in education (as is the case in most colonies in the post-war period) it has been found cheaper and far simpler to subsidize mission schools than to establish government schools throughout a colony. Where government has remained largely indifferent to education it has still had to recognize the bene-

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2 Pope Pius XI: Encyclical letter on the Christian Education of Youth. Official English Translation. Catholic Educational Review. v.28, pp.129-63. (1930)

fits brought to its African subjects by mission schools. And generally speaking the colonial governments have subscribed to the view that education for African peoples should be "based in religion" and hence should be conducted by the missions rather than directly through governmental agencies of a necessarily secular character.

The exact relationships which subsist between government and missions in various colonies have been discussed adequately by various writers[3] with copious references to the official sources of information. Hence no attempt will be made to repeat that information here. Instead, the present chapter will be devoted to some of the fundamental problems which confront all missions as soon as they undertake any kind of educational work in central African fields. These may conveniently be considered under six heads. (1) The setting of the African school. (2) Aims and functions of the school. (3) Practical difficulties in relaizing these aims and functions. (4) Possibilities in the village school. (5) Distinctive elements in station schools. (6) Implications for teacher training.

THE SETTING OF THE AFRICAN SCHOOL

Importance of environment. Since the whole experience of life is educative in so far as the individual is changed or developed by it, the school cannot view its own task in proper

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3 Notably Buell: The Native Problem in Africa; Oldham and Gibson: The Remaking of Man in Africa; Mair: Native Policies in Africa; Mumford and Orde Brown: Africa Learns to be French.

perspective without continual reference to this wider frame of experience within which it functions. The range of experience of the pupils, past and present (and probable experiences in the future) affects the school in a number of ways. It determines what the school has to build on, i.e., the knowledge, the interests, the ideas and preconceptions, the motor and mental skills with which the child is equipped when he enters school. It determines what the school has to build with, the correlative experiences outside of school hours which can be welded into a growing understanding and appreciation of life, the range of opportunity for direct or mediated contact with the great outer world, the opportunities for acquaintance with things and people and types of activity, the opportunities for self-expression and self-development in arts and crafts, sports and games, and esthetic and religious activities. And finally it determines what the school has to build toward in the way of preparation for the most useful and most satisfying adult life.

Hence the first step in planning for a school is properly the study of the community the school is to serve. Such a study must be specific to the particular community; it cannot possibly be generalized for a broad area without losing its essential value as a directive to the program of a particular school. All that can be done in the present discussion, therefore, is to point out some of the characteristic differences between African school settings and those in America and Europe to which our traditional patterns of education relate.

Range of African environments. It may be noted first that the African scene presents greater variety than the homelands. The urban and industrial centers that are springing up here and there are essentially similar to cities everywhere, and the educational pattern suitable for European towns is not flagrantly unsuitable there. But the African village or kraal is without a close counterpart in western lands; and the tribally organized life of an African people, where it still exists relatively undisturbed, is vastly different from anything within the experience of the western educator. Hence educational plans require the freest adaptation if they are to become an effective element in this new type of situation. It is here that the greatest genius on the part of the teacher is required. And it is precisely here that the most ill-adapted and carelessly executed school work is often to be found.

Riches of African environment. Secondly, the riches of the African environment are not the same as those commonly found in lands of western culture, and so they have not been adequately utilized for educational purposes. These riches are both natural and cultural. They are part of the heritage of the African child, and failure to recognize and use them results in his impoverishment. The relatively recent discovery of the vast folklore of many African peoples is an example of this.[4] The neglect of African crafts, games, dances and music which still prevails (with certain notable exceptions) suggests other

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4 The mission school at Banza Manteke (Belgian Congo) in one year made a collection of 180 folk tales known to the students of that district. This collection was subsequently published (in Kikongo) on the school press.

areas to be explored and developed. African nature lore, agricultural practices, building methods and medication indicate knowledge and use of the material environment which the school has largely failed to utilize.

Emphasis on this point is not intended to imply that the school should be restricted to things African. Interpretation of a larger world is one of its important functions. But too often African schools have aped European models of doubtful suitability, and overlooked African values that lay on the doorstep. As long as white teachers dominate the scene, as long as we start from the patterns of white culture and white schools, this is inevitable, however strenuous our efforts at adaptation. The solution must be found in encouraging Native teachers to develop their own methods and programs, not as an adaptation of something from outside, but as a direct attempt to meet their own needs in their own way.

Foreign elements in environment. The life experience of practically every African today includes elements from the world outside his own ancestral culture, and this is bound to be increasingly true. Without them the African environment and cultural heritage would be singularly poor in some respects, just as they are rich in others. Things and ideas of foreign origin have been seized avidly by the African because they do supplement and complete his way of living. They make life easier, or more interesting, or more varied, even while they disrupt the old patterns of life. Moreover they have behind them the intense prestige of white culture. White people in Africa have quite consistently taught the Natives to despise their own cul-

ture and even their own race, and to desire above all else to be like the European. With this attitude and this influx of new elements the school is also concerned. They too are part of its environment; and its task is to see that they do not become essentially and fatally disruptive, but are brought into subordination to a wholesome conception of life that is both practically livable and conceptually and emotionally satisfying.

Assumptions of African thought. Thirdly, the psychological setting of the school must be appreciated. Much has been made of the idea that primitive people's minds function in a manner radically unlike occidental minds.[5] But the closer one draws to African life and thought the less weight one is inclined to give to such an hypothesis. The mental processes are not different; the difference lies in the assumptions on which thinking is based. Any analysis which is not sufficiently penetrating to reach that substratum of assumptions, largely unconscious, on which all thought rests, will certainly be puzzled to follow the train of a people's thinking. And any education which seeks to effect more than a superficial and transient impress must deal with this substratum of assumptions also. Now the fundamental assumption of African thought is the idea of a vital rather than a rational world.

> Agriculture and hygiene are hedged round by prohibitions which give way onto to counter-demonstration, if they give way at all. The growing of crops is a process governed from first to last in accordance with strict rules, handed down from dim generations in the past. Iron-working or boat-building is beset by the same system of age-long observances, each of which is an essential for the validity

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5 Especially by Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. See Bibliography, p.303.

> of the process as was every little act and phrase of an ancient Roman contract. Indeed the two things are not dissimilar. Growing crops, smelting iron, building houses, and all the manifold operations of life can be carried on only through a contract with the spirits. And the form of the contract is the vital point.
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> Effect, therefore, does not follow cause in any automatic way. It is really more true to speak of effort and reward than of cause and effect. . . . This is at once a strength and a weakness. It gives to education a usable and a non-usable element. It is a help to morality, but it stands in the way of science. The European whose attitude to the study of primitive society is primarily scientific is apt to fasten on the non-usable element and to neglect the other. It is to the scientific man a rather tiresome thing that in a world which is presumably rational, there should be found human beings who act irrationally. He feels therefore that the great need is to train the Native to think scientifically, and to tidy up his mind.[6]

It is undoubtedly necessary that the Native should acquire the conception of cause and effect which has served the occidental world so well as a tool for understanding and controlling the world of nature. Without embarking on any extended discussion it may be pointed out that two concepts are really involved here. One is essentially mathematical; effect is proportional to cause, never disproportionately greater or less. The other is metaphysical; effect is inherent in the cause--it is simply the resultant of all the causes operating together--it is not mediated by any intervening agency, spiritual or otherwise. These are the ruling concepts of rational western thought, they are the fundamental assumptions of science. Neither of them is part of the African's stock of fundamental assumptions. He is characteristically weak in mathematics. The conception of proportion is difficult for him, not easy. And the mediation of spiritual powers between his activity and nature's response

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6 Murray, A.V.: The School in the Bush. (London, Longmans Green and Co., 1929.) p. 85.

is taken for granted, very much as it was by the ancient Hebrews.

The problem of intellectual adjustment. To pass from a spirit-dominated and hence capricious world-view to one of rational law and order is no easy matter, as the western world has discovered. Especially difficult is it to do so and still retain a secure basis for religious faith. The locus in which spiritual activity is conceived to operate has to move from direct intervention in natural processes to the ordering of the natural world and the giving of life and power. The conception of God has to grow in proportion as the world-view develops. The failure of the church to provide for such growth, the substitution of static dogma and formulas for an alertness to reach larger understanding of God through the increasing knowledge of His world, and the consequent failure to interpret that increased knowledge in satisfying emotional expression--these are doubtless factors in the drift of intelligent and educated people away from the church and from religion. This drift is a commonplace fact in the western world; it is observable also in South Africa among the descendents of Native Christian parents. It will be the result of the secularization of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, in central Africa too, unless in the meantime church and school together effect a satisfying synthesis of the scientific and the religious conceptions of the world.

Of course the Native mind is not going to break ever suddenly from a completely spiritistic to a completely scientific world-view. No practical educator expects such miracles to happen. The immediate problem in most cases is to make the

rational view intelligible and demonstrably effective in certain areas of experience, such as hygiene and agriculture. Once implanted, the area of application of the idea will grow, as it has in western culture. But the question of its implications for religious understanding and faith is there from the beginning; and the questions that arise on that score need to be honestly dealt with, not evaded.

Such is the setting of the African school. Within that setting what should its function be?

THE FUNCTION OF THE AFRICAN SCHOOL

Perhaps the most general definition that can be given of the function of a school is that it should so mediate the world of experience and the cultural heritage to the growing personality, that, on the one hand, the best of that heritage will be preserved and transmitted to each new generation, and, on the other hand, the student will be fitted for happy, honorable and socially useful living. For Africa, each colonial government and each missionary agency would probably restate this proposition in terms of its own characteristic thinking. The differences would appear not so much with regard to the interpretive, transmissive and growth-inducing function of the school as with regard to the ends envisaged--the kind of Africans the school should seek to produce. In a study of the schools of Belgian Congo[7] the writer found six distinct aims

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7 Carpenter, G.W.: Cultural Adjustment through Education in the Bas-Congo. (Master's Essay, Yale University, 1936. Not published.)

underlying various phases of educational work. These are: Christian nurture and character formation, acculturation (i.e., assimilation to European patterns or the introduction of European elements), preservation of Native culture, health, improvement of village life, and the provision of laborers and artisans fitted for European employment.

Industrial training. Of these six elements of educational aim the last lies largely outside the scope of the present discussion. The special training of mechanics, agricultural overseers and other types of skilled labor is determined almost exclusively by the requirements of the work to be done. It differs in no essential from corresponding training in the home-lands, and so presents neither problems nor guidance for the general field of African education. The outstanding weakness of such industrial training as generally conducted today is its negligible carry-over value into the life of the African community.

> A limited number of men are trained at the mines in handicrafts, such as carpentry, iron-work, cement and brickwork, and tin-smithing. Some of this knowledge may be used with advantage on their return home. These trades are of more definite value where the worker seeks employmen in a European settlement. However a real dilemma for a majority of the men is how to use what they have learned on the copper belt in their tribal surroundings. . . .
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> The stay in these surroundings is prolonged and is repeated again and again. The men work under conditions that improve the health, awaken the mind, widen horizons and bring them new ideas, liberties, and desires. When they return home their horizons narrow and the blanket of tribal and heathen custom envelops them. They acquire little experience or skill at the mines that is useful in their rural homes, and, due to the pressure of custom and superstition, the new ideas, skills, and tastes are apt to be short-lived and make small headway in the village. Here is a deplorable waste of opportunity. . . .[8]

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8 Davis, J.M.: Modern Industry and the African. (London, MacMillan and Co., 1933.) pp.316-17.

This quotation, which refers specifically to the vast number of migratory laborers working in the copper belt, would be quite generally true, *mutatis mutandis*, in relation to central African industrial training everywhere.

The five other aims would be found, combined in various proportions, in almost any mission school, and, without the distinctively Christian emphasis in relation to character formation, in non-religious government schools.

Cultural transmission. But the field may be still further narrowed. The introduction of foreign elements, such as language, scientific knowledge, or even the simple tools of reading, writing, and mathematics is certainly part of the proper activity of the school. (Holding school is itself a western, not a Native concept.) But these things are properly done with an end in view, that of the development of the personality or ability of the student. They are not properly an end in themselves. So also the preservation of portions at least of the traditional cultural heritage of African peoples may be a highly valuable educational experience; but it is so because that heritage is significant for the present and future lives of the studnets, not for any intrinsic worth in the culture pattern itself apart from life. The school is properly a place to live and learn to live, not an ethnological museum. The funtion of a school must be conceived in terms of its students, not in its subject matter of instruction.

Health and the improvement of village or community life are laudable objects of interest and fields of activity for any African school. But, once again, they are of interest

in relation to the lives, personal and social, of the students. The school will do well to strive for lasting results in those fields; but its function in so doing is to lengthen life and improve its quality through that activity, not to promote the activity for its own sake.

Character development. Thus the function of the school narrows down essentially to the development of character and personality.[9] For the Christian school it is the development of that Christian character described in the paragraphs quoted at the beginning of the chapter. The function of the Christian school can best be described in the words of Jesus: "I have come that they may have life, and have it to the full."[10]

For Christian character is a term as broad and inclusive as the whole sphere of legitimate human experience. It means, first of all, an integrated personality, in which the focus of integration is not self but the mind and will of Christ, perceived and followed unswervingly in an ever-deepening experience of life's meaning.[11] It means the poise and power derived from that inner harmony. It means the fullest possible development of one's powers, and the use of them in the way that will bring the greatest happiness and benefit to others. Hence it also means social awareness and adaptation, a social as well as a personal conscience.

Principles of Character education. This, then, is the charter of the Christian school. By what means is it to

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9 Not forgetting that character is the basic stuff of society as well as of the individual. See the following paragraph.

10 John 10:10. Moffatt's translation.

11 See chapter 3, pp.101-104.

realize these ends? Several principles of its action are implicit in its character-building function. These deserve to be noted specifically.

1. Christian emphasis in the life of the school. If the school is to develop Christian character and moral strength, these elements must be present in its life, not merely as subjects in its curriculum, but as the basic texture of daily experience in all the corporate life of the school community, whether in worship, study, recreation, work, or leisure. This will be further discussed in a separate chapter.[12]

2. Realism of the school experience. The school must fit its students to participate effectively in a real world, generally very like that immediately about them during their school experience. It ought therefore to be very much aware of that immediate world, to draw upon it, interpret it, supplement its deficiencies, criticise it where needful, and make the school experience a closely-knit extension of it rather than a sharply contrasted world of its own. The school must deal with realities, not fantasies.[13]

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12 See Chapter 7.

13 In this connection one may well ponder the conceptual foreignness of much subject matter now in use. For instance a certain boarding school in Belgian Congo assigns arithmetic problems of the following type: "A shaft rotates 120 times per minute. How many revolutions will it make in 3 hours, 9 minutes and 10 seconds?" This problem involves the following concepts: mechanical shafting, constant velocity of rotation, quantitative measurement of rotation, rate of speed, measurement of time, conversion of non-decimal measures. All of these would be familiar to most European children through extra-scholastic experience. For rural Congo they are familiar only in relation to the school or to white men's devices, if at all. Granting that some of the concepts are needed, such a combination of them involves excessive difficulty. It is not surprising that students fail to grasp the logic of such problems, and solve them only by rule and by note. The work is meaningless to them, and therefore valueless.

3. Social awareness and training. Awareness of the environment implies also awareness of the social fabric; but this is too often taken for granted and not dealt with by the school in a way calculated to clarify the student's thinking. Specific sociological study, though still rare in western curricula at elementary and intermediate levels, should definitely be given a place in African schools, because of the importance to every African of the profound social changes which are taking place and the necessity of understanding of them as a basis for personal re-orientation and constructive attitudes.[14]

4. The place of tool-subjects. The "tool subjects", reading and writing, arithmetic and measures, and language studies (including a European language where taught), have their place in the school curriculum--as tools. Their object is to make the student a more able and effective person, to increase his control of the means of knowledge and expression, and hence his powers of intercourse and of comprehension. But if the student is the center of interest, all subjects are tool subjects in much the same way. Their significance is in their power to enhance the richness and effectiveness of his personality, they are never ends in themselves. The criterion of usefulness of "subject matter" or school experiences will be their contribution to the student's growth in character or understanding or power of expression, never their place in a logically coherent "body of knowledge."

5. Wholeness of life. Neither Native life nor the ideal of Christian character draws any sharp distinction between body

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14 See further pp.159-60, and pp.211-12.

and mind, thought and feeling, religious and secular. These various dichotomies of life are inimical to the growth of full-orbed, fully integrated personality. The response of the whole person should be sought to each new experience, only so does it become wholly a part of one. The function of the school is to unify experience into an understandable whole, not to create cleavages within it. (For this reason also an excessive number of school subjects, or excessive emphasis on their separateness, is harmful.) Physical expression through sports and crafts, emotional expression through worship, prayer, song, drama, games and dances, and the application of pupose in self-directed work for the common good--all these have their place in the life of the school along with more definitely intellectual pursuits. The whole person is to be taught through doing.

6. Flexibility. Finally a word of caution is in order lest it be assumed from the foregoing that the specific aims and proper content for a school or system of schools may be successfully worked out and prescribed in advance. The best educational practice everywhere seems to be moving away from this procedure, and becoming increasingly flexible and opportunistic. But in a varied and rapidly changing milieu like Africa the specific aims of the school must be capable of adjustment from school to school and from year to year. The function and general aim can be stated only in the most general terms, and as an ideal to be worked out in living terms rather than as a specific goal to be achieved. Within that general function there is room for unlimited diversity of practice, and

for local adaptation to the specific needs of the community or the requirements of the ruling power.[15] It must rest with the teachers to build their schools into the life of the communities they serve, and with the normal schools to set them in the way of doing so.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN REALIZING AIMS

In all the preceding discussion little has been said that has not been reiterated in the literature on African education for the past ten or even twenty years.[16] Yet progress has in many instances been painfully slow or eveh wanting. At the education conference held at Kimpese (Belgian Congo) in 1934, one of the most discerning Native teachers present declared that in his judgment the schools of the region had actually deteriorated in quality during the twenty years of his experience. That may be an overstatement; but it is certainly true that the ideal which students of African education have presented with cumulative force and clarity is still far from dominating or controlling the bulk of African school activity.

The reasons for this condition are not far to seek. They may be sketched in a few words, but to overcome them will still require high vision and determined effort.

1. Inadequate conceptions of education. The first is that what is required is not a new program or methodology so much as

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15 Provided, of course, that official standards permit flexibility.

16 Cf. notably: Loram: The Education of the South African Native, (1917); Jones: Education in Africa (1921) and Education in East Africa (1924); Smith: The Christian Mission to Africa (1926); Murray: The School in the Bush (1929); Oldham and Gibson: The Re-making of Man in Africa (1931).

a new point of view.

> I am reminded of the perplexity which existed to some extent in missionary circles . . . when Dr. Jesse Jones came back from Africa and expounded his programme of education. 'What precisely do you want us to do?' people kept asking him. If he had been ready to supply a cut-and-dry curriculum, if he had insisted that this or that subject should be cut out or this or that activity introduced, what he was saying would have seemed so much simpler. But he consistently refused to do this. 'I do not want you to do anything in particular,' he kept saying. 'I want you to do from a new point of view what you are doing at present. If you get the new (17 point of view the necessary changes will follow of themselves.'

Programs and activities spring from attitudes and viewpoints. Educational thought, whenever it is significant, is directed toward the creation or development of a true and adequate point of view. This is a slower and more difficult task than the formulation of programs, and it has to be done first. But meanwhile no large visible results are to be expected.

2. Dominance of tradition, and demands of official programs. The scene is still dominated on the one hand by habit and tradition, and on the other hand by the requirements of official programs and curricula. Missionary teachers have limited opportunities for keeping up with progressive educational thought and practice: they are isolated and remote from sources of information, they are extremely busy, they are often not professional educators at all but amateurs content to follow the system they find in vogue or that which they experienced in their own school days. The rank and file of the Native teachers have still less opportunity for professional advance and a less adequate conception of their task than the missionary. They

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17 Oldham, J.H.: An address at the LeZoute Conference of African Missionaries, 1926. The Christian Mission to Africa, p.170.

struggle on as best they know how, with, possibly, an occasional opportunity to spend a few weeks in refresher courses at a mission station, but often denied even that stimulus. There is, generally speaking, absolutely no channel provided by which the benefits of advanced educational thought and practice can be made available to the general body of village teachers in a systematic way.

Meanwhile the emphasis of Native education is largely on the relatively small number who manage to advance far enough to come within the scope of official programs. It is these schools that are reported and inspected, that add to the prestige and in many cases to the financial subvention accorded to the missions. It is here that real achievements in education of the western type are possible. And it is here, consequently, that the attention and labors of the missionary teacher mainly center. The growing emphasis on this type of school is probably responsible, in large part, for the decline (if decline there be) in the quality of village school work. Whether these more advanced schools will in turn refertilize the village schools by provdding more capable teachers will depend partly on whether the village school is conceived in terms sufficiently significant and interesting to attract graduates of the better schools. It will depend also on whether the social and moral vision of these more advanced schools is such as to send young men back into the villages with vision and purpose to serve their people.

3. Inadequate materials. School materials and teaching aids are still far from abundant, and much that is in use is antiquated and unsuitable. Missionaries are too heavily burdened

to undertake the additional task of preparing literature, and relatively few among them have the necessary gifts and qualifications. Native writers have not been developed to the extent that they might be. The emphasis has remained too long on translation or adaptation of European materials rather than on creation de novo in view of African needs. Sometimes disagreements over the rendering of African languages into written form has delayed much needed literary work.

4. Inadequate supervision. Finally, school work, except that conducted on or near mission stations, has suffered lamentably for want of effective supervision. Apart from government subsidies for educational work missions can rarely afford sufficient staffs for frequent visitation throughout their fields; and such visitation as does take place is likely to be concerned more with the church life and problems of the people than with their schools.

An important contribution to the solution of this problem is being made in the extension to Africa of the "Jeanes Teacher" plan which has been so effective inthe Southern States in America. This movement has already made marked progress in East Africa[18] and its extension to other areas is envisaged.[19]

These difficulties have militated against all educational advance, but especially against the village school. Advanced schools, and even urban elementary schools, usually have the constant guidance of one or more white missionaries.

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18 For the most recent information see: Village Education in Africa. (Report of the Inter-territorial "Jeanes"Conference, 1935.) (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, for the Carnegie Corporation.)

19 E.g., Belgian Congo. See Christ and the Congo. (1934) p.16.

This the rural or village school lacks. It will therefore be convenient to consider the two types separately in attempting to suggest possible lines of advance and means of overcoming their defiaiencies.

POSSIBILITIES IN THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

Significance of the village school. The village school iq the crux of Africa's educational problem. It contains the germs of fresh and transforming new life, but it may easily be merely disruptive or sink into impotent stagnation. It may quicken the child's mind to unsuspected powers and insights, or it may dull that mind by meaningless rote and irrelevant subject matter. Out of it may come another Aggrey or a village loafer. On its aim and effectiveness depend not only the rapidity but also the quality and nature of the change that African community life is to undergo.

That it should exist at all is a symptom of that change.

> . . . A school of any sort indicates ipso facto a quite different society from that of the African village or tribe. It cannot be too emphatically stated that no matter what we teach, even if we cut out all literary subjects, and stick to agriculture and handicrafts and the most familiar occupations of Native life, we are nevertheless doing something the like of which haw never been done in that way.before. Introduce into agricultural teachings a recognition of cause and effect, make knowledge self-conscious and not merely traditional, and you are introducing the Native into a new world.[20]

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20 Murray: The School in the Bush. p. 231.

This is literally true. Africa had no formal schools before the white man came. Education there was, to be sure, but it was in part the unconscious education of sharing in the whole on-going life of the people and learning by doing, and in part the specialized ritualistic teaching of initiation rites and tribal ceremonies. The school is an innovation from the west, and one of the most pervasive and powerful of them all.

Importance of the teacher. The village school is largely what the village teacher makes it. Hence that tendency to deterioration which has already been noted. The teacher, left year after year to his own devices, with a limited conception of his task and a restricted fund of knowledge, has little incentive to freshness and growth. Yet the influence of the village teacher is enormous.

> Although every African teacher does not reach the ideal of his profession, yet their rôle in the formation of a new life in Africa can hardly be over-estimated. There are among them some with only a modest culture; others who at far too young an age were entrusted with a task for which they could not have been fitted; and some who are complete failures. Yet with all their shortcomings they render a service which has far-reaching effects. In thousands of communities they are the only persons who have had a European education and have thus acquired a wider outlook. They remain in constant touch[21] with the European in later life and are among the very few Africans who read books after they have left school. On the other hand, they live in close contact with the Natives according to Native ways, though perhaps modified somewhat. They are thus the best interpreters of the New to the Old. By the very nature of their work they are obliged to live in harmony with the chiefs and representatives of the older generation, and in this way they acquire an understanding of the value of the sanctions of tradition, the more so if their eyes have been opened by them by their European teacher. Almost all the Natives who have published books about the culture, language,

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21 "Constant touch"--one wonders! In many cases the contact is far less constant than it should be for the efficiency of the teacher's work.

> or the history of African tribes, and have thus rendered a service to science as well as to their own people, are teachers or ministers. Many of them exercise their calling in difficult circumstances, amongst very backward communities, in miserable hovels with quite insufficient equipment, and often for very scanty remuneration. . . . Many of them are true servants and real idealists and are among the brightest hopes of the race.[22]

Anyone who has had opportunity to evaluate the services of the African village teacher to his people would probably agree that this statement is not too strong. By comparison with even the poorest and feeblest schools in western lands the ordinary African village school still ranks low; but judged by its significance to its own people and within its own community its worth is tremendous. And so also the teacher. His characteristic weakness is in the academic field-- in the limitations of his own knowledge and skill with reference to the elementary school subjects of a typically western curriculum. His great strength is his understanding of his own people and his eagerness and ability to serve them in a variety of ways.

Need of a fresh approach. These are the factors which make the conception of community-centered education important, especially when conjoined with the "Jeanes" teacher or "village guide"[23] idea. It is quite clear that some new approach to village education is needed to lift it out of the rut of stagnant routine into which it so easily falls. It is equally clear that the whole mass of village schools cannot hope to be provided with better-trained teachers, judged by academic standards, within any predictable period of time. What is needed, therefore,

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22 Westermann, Diedrich: The African To-day. (London, Oxford University Press, 1934.) pp.224-25.

23 A substitute name suggested by Dr. Loram. Village Education in Africa, p.39.

is an approach to village education which will capitalize the abilities and stimulate the activities of teacher and pupils and of their whole community, rather than shipwreck itself on the reefs of ignorance or the shoals of indifference.

Community-centered education. Such an approach has been found by the "Jeanes" workers in East Africa in turning the interest of the school toward community service, community betterment, community activities of any useful or interesting kind the school cares to attempt. (The same idea had already been found successful over a long term of years in the American Southland.) A full description of many of these projects and activities will be found in the Report of the Inter-territorial "Jeanes" Conference held at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, in 1935.[24] Such activities enlarge the experience of the scholars in the school; they also tie the school and community together in new bonds of mutual appreciation. Co-operation of chiefs and elders and the people generally is essential, of course; and to this end the first projects attempted should be such as to win their confidence, and their counsel should be sought whenever possible. It is also necessary that the teacher be given a rather free hand and not be required by instructions or regulations to limit his field of activity to the school-room.[25] Here the new attitude spoken of above comes into play. Where community-centered education is encouraged, the effectiveness of the teacher will be judged less by academic standards and more

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24 See footnote 18, page 200.

25 Cf. Village education in Africa, p.29. The writer recalls a missionary visiting the Kimpese Teacher Training School, who, seeing some teachers learning to thatch a roof, remarked: "What's the use of that? In my district, if I found a teacher building or thatching I'd tell him his business was teaching and he'd better stick to it!"

by evidences of improvement in the tone and life of the whole community, by the pupils' awareness of their surroundings and interest in improving them, and by their practical ability in such every-day life matters as food, health, living together, creative use of available materials, recreation, moral awareness and religious perception.

"Jeanes" teachers in community education. The "Jeanes" teacher (to continue to use the familiar term) is the essential agent of this educational transformation. His function is to open the eyes of the teacher to this neglected field of activity, to indicate its importance and so enlarge the teacher's idea of his function, to suggest projects and methods out of his own knowledge and experience, to help win the interest and co-operation of local leaders and groups, and, by recurrent visitation, to continue this stimulus to expanding effort and help overcome difficulties as they emerge. Being himself an African, and preferably a fellow-tribesman, he starts on a footing of naturalness which the white man can never attain, and so is able to gain an insight into the "inwardness" of the situation. Having no other pressing tasks awaiting him elsewhere, he can spend as much time in a village as is really needed to interpret his own point of view and set in motion projects embodying it. By the contagion of his own example he can infuse new life into the school and community as no white man, eternally a foreigner, can hope to do. In the combination of the community-centered school and the "Jeanes" teacher lies the possibility of breaking the vicious circle of mediocrity in which much present village school work is caught.

Other helps for village teachers. To be sure, the village teacher needs other helps, and these ought to be provided as rapidly and effectively as possible. Suitable periodicals in the vernacular, or (where it will be understood) in a European language, designed to help the teacher in his work and adapted to the level of village life, are still far too rare. Refresher courses and conferences in which the isolated teacher may have fellowship with others and may find the inspiration of enlarging horizons, the answers to questions long-pondered, the stimulus of fresh thought, and the object lesson of well conducted schools--these are valuable and should be provided more generally. Literature and teaching materials of all kinds present an exhaustless field for further effort; and no great academic advance in village schools is to be expected until this need is met. These are among the most urgent needs of the village teacher; they do not exhaust the list.

Support. It is commonly recognized that the village teacher is often paid a mere pittance, and that, at the present economic level of village life, more adequate remuneration can hardly be provided. Here also the principle of the community-centered school should be of assistance. This in two ways. First, the greater interest engendered by the school should arouse a general appreciation of it, resulting in a greater readiness to support it financially. And second, whenever possible the broadening of the economic base of village life should be among the problems which the school should seek means of solving.

DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS IN STATION SCHOOLS

Community interest of the station school. In discussing the possibilities of village school improvement, it was not intended to suggest that advance in that field can be divorced from station school advance. Rather the two should go forward concurrently, within a common plan, each ministering to the advance of the other. Station school as well as village school must aim to serve the whole mass of the people rather than lift a few select individuals out of the mass into a perilous artificial status as an "educated minority." If the station school does truly aim at serving all the people, this aim will color all its activities in an unmistakable way. If it is content with the individual advancement of its own students this distinctive quality in its corporate life will be lacking, and the force of its challenge to realistic Christian living will be greatly lessened.

The effect of the loss of this sense of obligation on so great a school as Hampton Institute has been ably set forth by a recent visitor from Africa, Mr. W. H. Seaton. He writes:

> Agriculture and poultyy-raising on a scientific scale, together with home economics, have their place in Hampton's scheme of things, but the main impression left after a visit to the industrial department is of a huge organization rapidly adapting itself to a highly industrialized civilisation. . . If development of this type means the producing of an intelligentsia or an aristocracy which is completely separated from the great mass of the people, leaving those in a backward condition with little hope for help from those to whom they should look, there is reason for alarm. The greatest admitted need is in the rural schools of the one-teacher type. Hampton is producing agricultural demonstrators, supervisors, high school teachers, and principals, but only a few teachers for the backward rural schools. No-one is responsible for this trend at Hampton, or for the fact that

it is rapidly becoming a reflection of ordinary American education and of a highly industrialized system. The economic urge has been too strong and Hampton has of necessity lost sight of the aims of the original founders.

It would be the easiest thing in the world to develop central missions in Africa on modern Hampton lines--indeed, this trend is already noticeable--and to leave the mass of the people to struggle on as best it may. If a large proportion of the money available goes to the upkeep and improvement of large central institutions with an urban bias, or to the training of teachers who will be attracted to town employment because of higher wages, the small school is sure to be neglected. But if money so spent be diverted to rural areas, paricularly for the improvement of salary scales and teaching conditions, many teachers will readily stay in the smaller communities. The development of a backward people is a slow process, and spectacular results may easily and quickly be obtained by concentrating on large central institutions, and almost entirely neglecting the small rural schools. A top-heavy system which will look well on paper will develop, a separate upper group with special advantages will rise rapidly, while the majority of the people will be able to say with truth, "We asked for bread for our children and ye gave us a stone."

Unless the work at central missions be adapted to fit the needs of the masses it is largely a failure. It must be admitted that certain activities need to be suited to special conditions, but at the same time other types of training must be given which have a definite relation to the conditions which the pupils will meet after leaving school.[28]

In direct contrast to the waning vision of community responsibility at Hampton Institute stands the magnificent achievement of Penn School, which has built itself into the life of its community--a very backward and isolated community--at innumerable points where need existed, and, in the process, transformed all the surrounding district schools into centers of an influence similar to its own.

The ways in which a station school may express its interest in the whole life of the people are manifold. It will be sufficient here to suggest a few of the salient manifestations and values of that interest.

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28 Seaton,W.H.: Schools in Travail. (New York, The Carnegie Corporation, 1932.) pp.42-44.

1. Respect for village life. The school should invariably show respect for village life and honor those who minister to it. In this the white staff of the school must take the lead. Disdain, patronage, tolerant amusement, contempt--all these attitudes are completely out of place. To the students in school the village is home, and they have for it the same sensitive pride the white man feels for his home. If the white man tactlessly wounds that pride he sets up a needless barrier between himself and the student, and he creates in the latter a reaction away from the village life thus stigmatized as inferior. If, on the contrary, the white teacher manifests a friendly and respectful interest in village life and an understanding of the deep affection which the young student has for it, he creates at once a bond of fellowship and stimulates the student's own appreciation of his birthright. Furthermore, if the teaching profession, and especially the service rendered by the village teachers to their people, is regarded with sincere and frank appreciation by the white teachers, the students will be apt to see it in the same light and to turn to it as a worthy field of service; whereas if the teachers show scorn or impatience because of the poor scholastic showing of village teachers and remain oblivious to the importance of their social contribution, the students are not likely to be drawn to the teaching profession. The teacher's own inner attitudes will generally be reflected in the school.

2. Use of Native cultural elements. The school will show its appreciation of Native culture and achievement by borrowing from it as freely as circumstances permit. Since Europeanization is not the goal, but such a synthesis of Native and foreign

elements as shall best serve the need of the generation now in school, Native culture elements will be employed wherever there is not a definite advantage to the students in turning to the European substitute. The riches of the African environment have already been suggested;[29] the exploration of that environment and exploitation of its riches should be the customary procedure rather than the exceptional thing it now is. Native arts and crafts, Native social organization, Native games, songs and amusements, Native usages of politeness and behavior, Native ritual and liturgy and traditional lore, Native conceptions of the world--all these are among the things that may yield unsuspected values to the school that approaches them with an appreciative spirit. And this exploration will leave a profound impress of loving respect for his people's heritage in the heart and mind of the student.

3. Experimentation for community betterment. Finally, the school will make itself a center of study and experimentation in relation to the leading problems of village life in its area. In the preceding section it has been suggested that "Jeanes" teachers should be able to show village teachers how to deal with these problems as they emerge. Obviously the whole initiative in this cannot rest with the "Jeanes" teacher, who is not apt to be dowered with the originality, wisdom and knowledge needed to solve those problems. The collaboration of the central station school is needed, both in discerning the outstanding or typical needs of the village communities and in seeking solutions. The interest of a group of students may be

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29 Cf. pp.185-86.

engaged in such a problem as a project with excellent educational effect, and with the further value of turning their interests toward community betterment. Problems of agriculture, subsistence, and nourishment, of housing, of health, sanitation and disease prevention, of family and social life, of discovering sources of income and broadening the economic resources of the community, of interpreting and obeying colonial law and policy--these are some of the types of community problems which, at various levels, the school may help to solve. As rapidly as station-school projects of this sort begin to yield promising returns they may be transplanted into the villages through the medium of "Jeanes" teachers, village schools, and returning students from the station schools. In this way the station school may have a very important part in the progressive transformation of village life--a transformation from within, to be wrought by processes of growth and without any violent disruption of the existing fabric of life.

The distinctive character of the boarding school.

But while thus maintaining contact and continuity of interest with the village communities and schools, the station boarding school belongs essentially to a different category; and its distinctive values arise largely from this fact.

> The boarding-school in Africa is an attempt to provide for the African that general world of ideas in which the English child lives by the mere fact of being in a country where literature, the newspapers, and ordinary conversation assume those ideas.[30]

It represents a concentration of cultural values and experiences, a world apart designed especially with educational

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30 Murray: op. cit., p.232.

ends in view, which the African will hardly find open to him anywhere else. Its acculturative influence is thus tremendously more important than that, say, of an English Boarding school, as Murray rightly points out. It provides the means for African youths and maidens to experience an intensive and prolonged contact with peoples and ideas belonging to the western world. It is the door to understanding and reconciliation between Africa and the West. Those who enter its portals, student and teacher alike, are charged with the duty of interpreting to eachother the richest achievements and truest insights of their respective races. This experience may be profoundly significant to the African youth in relation to his own people in several ways.

1. Intimate acquaintance with white people. Contact with white people of a worthy type, even more than acquaintance with their knowledge and technical skills, may leave a lasting impress on mind and character. This will depend largely on the white people concerned, on their leisure and capacity for friendship even more than on the formal contacts of school life and administration. Attitudes and qualities of life that can be conveyed in no other way make their impress through these personal and informal contacts. Furthermore, the "underlying assumptions" by which the white man lives have time to affect by cumulative stages the characteristic thinking of the African youth, so that his mental growth is not only stimulated but modified in direction and content by his boarding-school experience.

2. Objectivity toward village life. The boarding-school experience gives the African youth an opportunity to observe village life objectively and externally. He is for a time with-

drawn from it, he can look at it as one apart. If the school is skilful in guiding the social thinking of its students, this objectivity will result in a valuable re-orientation of attitudes. The importance of realistic study of African social phenomena in station schools can hardly be over-stated--a study not mainly theoretical or abstract, but based continually on the personal knowledge and experience of the students, and reaching out constantly in practical contributions to the well-being of the community. But this beginning (in personal experience) and ending (in community outreach) need to be related by study which will orient the student in the world in which he lives, and guide his understanding of the larger and changing world into which he is growing.

These studies of society should not neglect the basic unit, the family, nor the social and moral problems of personal and family life. Africans discuss matters of sex among themselves with much frankness, but the West has contributions to offer in this field also, both in knowledge and in interpretation. In all these matters the boarding-school experience should help the African to master his own racial heritage as well as bring into relation to it new values from the western world.

3. Orientation and motivation of life. The boarding-school experience should help the students to develop the needed personal motivation and purpose for useful and effective living. From the Christian standpoint this is a religious problem in essence, and the religious life of the school should certainly be such as to develop the will and character of the students so that they will live more worthily. But there is also involved

a social problem, that of discovering how to relate one's life effectibely to one's people or to some other interest or end. Vocational guidance has become a recognized field of educational activity in America and Europe. Something of the same sort needs to be done for the African. An opportunity should be made to acquaint him with the various paths of livelihood and life open to him, with the requirements, obligations, rewards and advantages of each. Beyond this evem, the basis on which decisions regarding the investment of life should be made ought to be considered. If this is done, the African, accustomed to recognize the claims of his group upon himself, will not be slow to acknowledge the high claims which the professions of teaching, medicine and the ministry make upon those qualified to serve their own people therein. The lack of consideration of this whole question in many schools results in the aimless drifting of many gifted youths into socially less valuable types of work.

IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNITY INTEREST FOR TEACHER TRAINING

An adequate course of training. The ideal teacher-training course for rural Africa at the present stage would, in the writer's judgment, approximate closely in character to that already described in chapter 4.[31] Specific instruction in pedagogy, methods, and psychology would certainly be required in

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31 See pages 156-62.

addition to the general training there described, as also practice teaching under supervision. The social studies and practical activities would be approached with the teacher's task especially in view, and thus made to yield as much as possible of direct value for the school. And care would be taken to see that the subject matter of the essential elementary school program was mastered and understood. With these technical requirements provided for, the major interest of the training course would be placed on the school-community relationship and the problems of community betterment and community evolution which have already been discussed in this chapter.

The poorly trained majority. But such an ideal teacher-training course can at present be provided only to a very restricted number of candidates, and these are largely absorbed into station schools or into "Jeanes" work. It is quite proper that they should be thus placed in positions where their viewpoint and special training will count for most. But meanwhile enormous numbers of village schools and many central-village schools are necessarily staffed with teachers who lack this specialized training. How are these teachers to be provided, and what training is to be given them?

The importance of institutes, conferences, or refresher courses for teachers already in service has already been noted. But a constant influx of new teachers is constantly required to take the place of those who drop out; and it is highly desirable--it is essential to any real advance--that these replacements be trained to a constantly advancing standard. Hence the station schools must still be looked to in most areas for a continual stream of recruits into the teaching profession.

Special courses for mature teachers. In the lower Congo the experiment has been tried of providing a two-year course for village teacher-evangelists of mature years, regardless of the degree of schooling they had received before entering village work. It has been found, however, that these older men have for the most part lost the ability to grasp unfamiliar material readily, and that they make little progress in ordinary class-room procedures. It is only in the fields of interest which their village work has stimulated and kept active that they respond effectively. It is doubtful whether such a course is sufficiently profitable to justify the effort it requires. The same effort devoted to young men and women of boarding-school or post-boarding-school age would produce much more notable results from the academic standpoint.

Importance of community viewpoint in boarding schools. The provision of teachers thus seems to rest largely with the station schools, and here again the emphasis on the village and on Native life suggested in these pages (and in how many previous treatises on African education!) should be fruitful. Not only is it to be hoped that more young men (with their equally well trained young wives) will see in the village an opportunity for effective and interesting service, but they will also have acquired an excellent ground-work of knowledge and understanding on which to base their teaching. Moreover the whole complex of interests which the boarding school will have dealt with will be much more readily transferrable to the village environment than the highly abstract and academic book-learning of traditional courses. The more concrete and practical

the boarding school is, the more effectively it can be reproduced by boarding-school graduates in the villages.

There is nothing essentially new in this. More than thirty years ago a missionary couple conducted a boarding-school at an isolated station in the Lower Congo.[32] With exceedingly meagre equipment, and with pupils whose prior training in the villages had been negligible, they built an education out of the resources at hand. Doubtless they aspired to reproduce in Congo the best elementary education they knew in America. But the limitations of their resources forced them to do better than that--forced them to create a school that was not American but African to the core. Out of that school came many young men whose names are honored today as the leaders of their people in their generation. About twenty years ago one of those men went voluntarily as the first messenger of Christianity to a remote tribe more than two weeks' journey, on foot, to the eastward. There he developed a boarding school that reproduced in every essential that in which he had been trained, using no European materials except a few books; and that school in turn, being rooted directly in the life of the people, began to send out its interpreters of a larger life to the surrounding villages. Eventually that school became the nucleus of a new mission station.

Of course the content of this interpretive influence became progressively modified, and in fact, impoverished, in these successive stages of outreach. Continuing contact with the sources is necessary to avoid such impoverishment, but the outreach and "Africanization" are to be welcomed.

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32 Rev. and Mrs. Thomas Hill, at Lukunga.

The danger today is that the emphasis on programs and standards and efficiency will result in too great an importation of the paraphernalia of western education, and thus make the schools more overwhelmingly foreign at the very time when they ought to be closely identified with the Native community in its efforts at self-adjustment amid manifold change.

CHAPTER 7

THE MEANING AND CONTENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The preceding chapters are based on the conviction that human personality is a unity in which body and mind, emotion and will function together as one, not as separable entities. In so far, therefore, as religion is a vital experience it colors and affects the entire personality. In so far as it is an experience necessary to the perfection and enrichment of personality its neglect or omission involves peril to the whole person and to the whole of society.

> Saving a man's soul is not a business which is necessarily to be done wholly or even chiefly on Sunday. We cannot save a soul without saving a body and a mind. . . . We do not live in separate compartments. We life as a unified whole, and anything which affects one particular part or aspect of our being will affect the whole of it.
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> We are sometimes told that the Church is concerned only with a man's or a woman's religion; that it is concerned only with saving souls. The difficulty is to find where religion begins and ends; to find what particular part of the personality the soul is. If the Church is concerned with religion (we can put in the word 'only' if we like) then, ipso facto, it is concerned with the whole of life, and there can be no part of life and no aspect of living to which it can be inattentive. If the Church is concerned with saving souls, then it must be concerned with everything which goes to the making up of a man's or a woman's personality.[1]

The general implications of this view have been dealt

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1 Ryburn, W. M.: The Theory and Practice of Christian Education. (London, Oxford University Press, 1934.) p. 1.

with in the previous chapters. But the problems of interpreting and sharing the experience of religion itself, and specifically the Christian religion, require more extended treatment. To that the present chapter is devoted. It will be convenient to discuss the subject under four heads: (1) The task of religious education. (2) The media of religious education. (3) The agencies of religious education. (4) The application of religious education.

THE TASK OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Education and religious education. From the postulate that personality is a unity it follows that religious education, to be effective, must not be regarded as a spearate segment of education distinct from that other and larger segment known as secular education, but that it must be an inherent element and characteristic of all education. It is far more important that education should be religious throughout than that there should be added to it something called religious education. The declining significance of religion in the lives of many people in western lands is probably due in considerable measure to the excision of religion from the main stream of thought and experience in the schools. The "selective silence" of the schools has made religion peripheral rather than central in the habitual attitudes and motivation of multitudes of people. It is highly important that this mistake be not repeated in Africa, for to the African religion is the central core and the essential color of all experience--as it should be. Fortunately, official school

programs in most African colonies accord proper importance to the teaching of religion.

Teaching functional religion. But it is clear that the teaching of religion, to be effective, must be more--vastly more--than the impartation of religious knowledge. Such knowledge, however well mastered, may still remain inert in the mind, a thing quite apart from the main business of living. The aim of religious education must be to make religion a functioning reality in the life of the individual. Such a "functioning reality" will or course have its intellectual element of knowledge and ideas, but they will be interwoven with the whole mental fabric, not sharply set off by themselves. It will have its emotional element, but this will tend rather to infuse all life with religious significance than to attach itself only to certain specific acts or situations. It will have its volitional element modifying the whole behavior and life-attitude rather than limiting itself to selected segments of activity. It is such a functioning Christianity and nothing less that African schools should seek to bring into the lives of their students.

> The case for basing African education on religion is the case for basing all education on religion. And by "religion" I mean not simply a man's beliefs but his effective beliefs; that is to say, something which decides his conduct and his attitude to the world in which he lives. I say conduct and attitudes because both are necessary. . . . The fundamental thing in religion is loyalty, and in the Christian religion it is loyalty to and union with Christ--looking on the world as He looked on it; loving God, and so never despairing of men; finding Him in the glowing heart, the quiet mind, and the Spirit wrestling with self; loving men as He loved them, appropriating the witness of Christian folk of all ages to be our witness; allowing history to feed experience, and experience to illuminate history; gladly learning and gladly teaching; rising into "the liberty of the Christian man" and at the same time by discipline and in humility enriching the whole Christian community, which

> is the "body of Christ"; and above all, holding out hands to receive His gift of life, which is more than we can ask or think or deserve.[2]

The religious element is thus a question of the character even more than of the content of education. In this it is analogous to the scientific and the social element. The place of science in modern education is not limited to the science class and the laboratory. Everything which is susceptible to treatment by the scientific method of observation and analysis, or which may be clarified by reference to scientific law, makes science its tool--and its mentor. In the social realm, students not only learn about human relationships and interdependence under appropriate rubrics inthe curriculum, they learn the same things much more effectively in the actual business of living together in the school and with other people outside. So also the religious element, if it is to have its full significance as functioning experience, must be implicit in the whole life of the school and must be conceived in working relation to the larger life outside. This in addition to--or rather inconfirmation of--the specifically religious content of the school program.

The program of religious education in the school must, then, lend itself to that confirmatory experience in life. In other words it must be, from the child's standpoint, intelligible, realistic, actual; not theoretical, remote, or incomprehensible.[3] It must make acqessible to the child real experience on the level of his capacities, and help him to understand that experience

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2 Murray, A. V.: The School in the Bush. pp.236-37.

3 This does not of course deny the place of the mystical and transcendental element of religion, for that is implicit in the experience itself.

and to apply it to an ever wider outreach of understanding of God and of life. It must help him to put his world together by reference to the primary realities of religious faith, the knowledge of a Creating, Redeeming and ever Loving God. It must help him to make God and not self the focus of life.

The school program. Religious insight, social outreach, and scientific love of truth ought then to characterize the whole work of the school. These requirements have been significantly phrased by the Education Commission of the LeZoute Conference of 1926.

> The curriculum of all types of schools should be drawn up with complete awareness of the life of the community. Character development based on religion should be the coloring of every educational activity. Hygiene and health should be emphasised, not only in the practice of the school and home but in the reading, writing and arithmetic of the school. Agriculture and industry should be taught in the class-room as well as practised in the field and workshop. The building up of a sound home life should receive consideration in the school as well as be exemplified in the home, and the value of recreation should be taught by both practice and precept. In higher institutions, which should aim at the training of men and women as leaders of their people, the curricula should be based on the same fundamental principles, together with an historic and comparative treatment of civics and citizenship, economics and the development of civilization.
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> If it be true that the "greatest importance must be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction" and that "both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects", it is essential that adequate provision should be made in government codes and curricula for sufficient time for religious instruction during school hours, and particularly for the training of the teacher to give such instruction.[4]

It is clear that, like other aspects of the school program, religion must have its own specific media of expression and its definite place in the scheme of things. It will not

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4 Smith,E.W.,ed.:The Christian Mission in Africa. p.112. (Report of the Commission on Education, Dr.C.T.Loram, Chairman.)

suffice to depend on a general religious view-point or chance opportunities for presenting religious truths. As in any other field there must be opportunity for systematic study and thought about religion, for the deepening of experience and the clarification of meanings, and for honest and thorough facing of the practical religious and moral issues that arise out of life itself. The opportunities which may be made for these functions are manifold. To them the next section will be devoted.

THE MEDIA OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The sharing of religious experience. It is less easy to interpret and to share religious experience than most other aspects of experience. Indeed, in a very profound sense it is impossible to share it at all. One cannot lead another to God; one can only point the way and leave the other to walk in it. One can create favorable conditions for true religious experience, but not the experience itself. That everyone must search out, of his own volition, and find as God gives it. Hence the importance of making religion an inherent part of the whole life of the school. Hence also the importance of using a variety of means of expressing and interpreting the broad range of Christian experience itself. Many of the means which may be used in African schools have been discussed very ably by the Reverend J. W. C. Dougall in the volume "Religious Education in Africa",[5] and it would be fruitless to repeat that discussion here. For the present chapter it will suffice to pass in brief review

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5 Dougall, J.W.C.: Religious Education in Africa. (London, International Missionary Council, 1929?)

some of these media, and to suggest their relation to the fundamental problem of this study, i.e., the discovery and expression of the Abundant Life within the setting of changing African culture.

1. Worship. Dougall very wisely places worship first among the media of religious education, and suggests that worship may properly be a subject of training. As to its African coloring he says:

> In African worship the content and form will be most truly helpful when based upon African conceptions of the Supernatural and its working, upon the Power resident in the natural world, upon its characteristic appearances, upon family and ancestral institutions as the sphere of its revelation. This does not imply that such indigenous ideas are to be approved and adopted wholesale, but that they are to provide the starting-point and reference to which content and form are to be adjusted. So also the gestures, conditions and accompaniments of worship for African Christians may be derived partly from those associated with their traditional approach to the Holy.
>
> Would it not be well for us to study the characteristic Native expressions of reverence and awe with a view to their use in our worship? How would the unsophisticated African show his consciousness of dependence, his reverence and respect, in approaching a Holy Teacher, a Wonderful Friend, a Merciful Lord? What forms of prayer did he naturally employ in religious ceremonies? How did he visibly embody the sense of communion with the Supernatural? Could we not employ some of the usages of Native ceremonial, adapting them to Christian purposes? This has been done in some parts of Africa, but the method might be extended. The Rain Ceremony in the case of the Lomwe tribe in Portuguese East Africa was converted into the Christian Harvest Thanksgiving. Just as in the former case men, women and children all brought their offerings to the sacred grove, so now the Christian fathers and mothers and children, even the babies, came forward or were carried to the Christian table or altar, each laying with his own hands the contributions of eggs or grain or fowls or fruit which as individuals and as a community they offered in gratitude to God.
>
> We must correct the erroneous conceptions of God and deliver religious feeling from fear and bargaining. We have to teach a truly Christian conception of God and to drive home the responsibilities of the individual in moral obedience. These are matters for religious teaching. But we must take hold of the faith and forms they have inherited, use the genuine element that is given, apply the conceptions which actually work in their own practice. We will

find that their worship becomes most truly spiritual and moral when we do not deny or condemn but expand the meaning of what they already accept, reveal the best which is already implied and carry them further by means of the momentum of their Native aspirations and needs. Our worship will employ elements of the traditional practice of western denominations, but its character should be recognizably African.[6]

An excellent illustration of such "recognizably African" worship is found in the following account of a service of dedication at the girls' school at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia.

> [On a Baptismal Sunday, ten girls of the school gave themselves to "the Chief" in the great congregation.]
> They all stood. I said: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."
> They knelt, and I asked: "Whose people are you?"
> "We are the people of the Chief."
> "What is the Chief's name?"
> "It is the Chief Jesus Christ."
> "What is the law of His Kingdom?"
> "It is the law of love."
> "To what does He call you?"
> "To obedience, to love, and to service."
> "What are the bounds of His Kingdom?"
> "His Kingdom has no bounds; it is everywhere and forever."
> Then they rose and said:
> "We are the people of the Chief through all the days of our life, and through death we pass into His presence and join the Tribe triumphant."[7]

Obviously such a service will be far more meaningful both to participants and to observers than one which merely translates or adapts a European service. Here the thought content has been rendered into African terms. This suggests and unlimited field for the collaboration of sensitive and gifted Natives and Whites, the development of truly African expressions of the great themes of Christian worship, and the training of other people, both adults and children, in the art of worship.

2. Study and teaching. Second in importance among the

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6 Dougall: op. cit., pp.24-26.

7 Shaw, Mabel: God's Candlelights. (New York, Friendship Press, 1935.) pp.90-91.

media of Christian education is religious instruction. The experience of Christian worship can only become fully meaningful as it is interpreted through growing knowledge and comprehension. It can result in the truest Christian living only as the meanings of the Gospel are thought out and applied with enlightened understanding. For Christianity is not only a personal experience of the believer, it is rooted in a historical revelation of God.

> The historical basis of our faith lies in the life and work of Christ as the ultimate truth about God and as the Revealer of His way of life. It is the fact of Christ and its meaning which is our first concern in religious teaching. But this was not an isulated fact in history. He came "in the fulness of time" as the culmination of God's training of a particular people through patriarch and prophet, priest and king, through historical events interpreted as His intervention and control. Moreover, Christ was the starting-point of another movement in history which has left us the records of Christian experience and the Church as His means of overcoming the world. However much, therefore, we value Christian feeling or doing there is a necessary place for knowing the facts. But as God is alive and at work in the world to-day, the facts for Christian teaching are not merely facts of past history but facts of present-day experience interpreted in the light of His presence and providence. God is making history in these days. He is active in nature; His spirit is moving over the waters of our life in Africa, in our very presence there and in the daily experience of our pupils. These equally are facts for interpretation in Christian teaching. Nor are we concerned with cold, impersonal facts, past or present, which are the same for everybody, facts to be known and remembered, like the date of the discovery of America or the great river systems of Africa. With religion, though it has its basis in history, the facts are in a real sense different for everybody; they have to be personally understood and assimilated, to enter into fully personal life where they are accompanied by feeling and always involve action.[8]

This quotation aptly summarizes the content of religious instruction from the Christian viewpoint, and it emphasizes once again the fact that such instruction involves far more than the impartation of facts. Like all valid teaching it involves

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8 Dougall: op. cit., pp.37-38.

growth on the part of the pupil, an intuitive entering into the experience of others by which his own experience is illuminated and given richer meaning.

For religious instruction in this sense the Bible is beyond question the ideal text-book, for it is an inexhaustible mine of such experience and meanings frawn from the age-long experience of the Hebrew-Jewish race (and later the Greeks also) in discovering God. Its meanings are peculiarly accessible to African peoples because their own customs and habits of thought resemble so strongly those of the ancient Hebrews. It is also expecially significant to modern Africa because of the spiritual pilgrimage which it reflects, from the conception of a tribal deity to the universal Creator, and from the God of wrath and venegance to the righteous and loving Father. Such a pilgrimage the African is also making, but at a tremendously accelerated pace; and he has need of guideposts writ large along the way. Proper teaching of the Bible, Old Testament as well as New, with a full appreciation of the sweep of its history and the progressive emergence of religious understanding out of Israel's national experience interpreted by the spiritual insight of her seers and prophets, and up to the culminating revelation of God in Jesus Christ and the apprehension of that revelation in the life of the Church--such teaching will provide the African peoples with those needed guideposts for their march.

Yet Bible teaching has too often been woefully inadequate. It has been divided into "portions" of convenient size for successive lessons, and these lessons taught with little regard for the sweeping movement and broad meanings of the whole.

Worse yet, emphasis has been placed on verbal mastery of the content of these separate portions rather than on their inner significance as men's experience of God or God's self-disclosure to men, as experience comprehensible and valuable to us because it matches our own.

> A boy may know the names of the twelve tribes or give a list of the kings of Judah or the places visited by St. Paul on his last journey without being in any sense a more religious person. He may even memorize the sayings of Jesus in his own vernacular as in a foreign tongue without apprehending their meaning for himself or for his country.[9]

The writer recalls attending a class in an otherwise excellently conducted boarding school in which an hour was spent in the successive recitation by a score of adolescent youths of a list of the plagues of Egypt. Such exercise contains no discernable religious value. It substituted the acquisition of useless knowledge, or, at best, unapplied knowledge, for stimulus to conclusive thinking and growing spiritual insights.

> There is the same problem in Native education in Africa that there is in England with regard to Scripture. Because its subject matter is "religious" profane hands must not be laid on he Scripture lesson. The result is . . . that the Scripture lesson is often the one which is worst taught, because there is no supervision, and because there is behind it the old heresy that the content of a book, apart from its interpretation in life and personality, of itself works a change of heart.[10]

> . . . the belief that the words of Scripture will somehow of themselves work a change is a residual belief in magic.[11]

This point is stressed not with the idea of implying that all Scripture is thus poorly taught--doubtless it is often taught with skill and reverence and insight--but in order to

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9 Dougall: op. cit., p. 39.
10 Murray; op. cit., p. 131.
11 Idem, p. 172.

point out the dangerous fallacy of assuming that the inherent excellence of the subject matter will compensate for poor teaching. The reverse is true: the greater the values implicit in the material studied, the greater the care, skill, and insight required of the teacher to enable the students fully to apprehend those values.

Any adequate curriculum of religious instruction will doubtless include a great variety of Biblical material chosen from a number of different points of view and susceptible to different types of treatment. It will also include something of the story of the growth and transmission of the Bible itself, and of the history of the Church across the ages down to our own times. Christian biography affords a further field of experience which may be drawn upon with great profit. Whatever the types of material used their relevance to real "life situations" of the pupil or his people must be made clear and explicit. Modern educational practice often finds it convenient to reverse the procedure and start with the situation or problem confronting the student. To solve it one is driven back upon the experience of otherssand upon one's fundamental conception of the nature of the wrodl and of God's character and will. In whichever direction one proceeds the process of religious instruction thus involves what Murray describes as "appropriating the witness of Christian folk of all ages to be our witness; allowing history to feed experience, and experience to illuminate history."[12]

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12 Murray: op. cit., p.236.

3. Drama. A third medium of religious education is the drama. Only a beginning has been made in exploring the possibilities in this field. The African is gifted with great mimetic and expressive powers; free rhythmic and dramatic treatment of a theme or incident delights him.

> A fifteen-year-old boy, wearing a small antelope mask on the back of his head and stooping so that it faces forward, and with a dappled cloak on his back and a straw tail, will come forward timidly, sniff the air, start at a shadow, scamper away, return cautiously, cavort from shade to shade, stagger wounded at the twang of a bow, quiver and lie dead; all in exquisite pantomime, utterly spontaneous yet true to the rhythm of the drums and rattles, and to the inner spirit of the antelope; a performance so artistically perfect that it would drive a Western audience delirious with delight.[13]

The writer has found religious drama invaluable as a means of re-creating great moments of spiritual decision and discernment, particularly in the lives of the prophets and in relation to the historical setting and the human problems which they faced. The effort to portray character and event makes more real to all the participants the issues involved, the attitudes of all the people concerned, and the successive stages by which the conflict developed and issued in some insight of abiding significance. The whole process of interpretation is carried out as a group project: the selection of the incident to be portrayed; the intensive study of its sequence of action, its setting, its characters and its meaning; the choice of a cast; the choice of scene and provision of properties if needed. Then the scene is acted, directly and spontaneously, without pre-arranged dialogue. There is no attempt to memorize "lines", for that would destroy all spontaneity and prevent the intuitive sharing of the

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13 Mathews, Basil: Consider Africa, (New York, Friendship Press, 1936) pp.23-24.

experiences portrayed. After the first attempt the participants discuss the performance critically and then try it again, until they feel that the characters and the inner meaning of the indident have been satisfactorily portrayed. If the result is particularly valuable, opportunity may be made for a public presentation. Similar but simpler methods have been used very successfully with small children. The preparation of dramatic interpretations is thus a valuable method of learning-- a project of group-exploration of religious meanings. Their presentation may be made a means of sharing these meanings with others impreesively and convincingly. If the theme gives scope for the exercise of the African's gift of improvising song and rhythmic response, so much the better. Of course no high degree of historical accuracy is sought; the essential point is the peproduction of the human struggle in terms corresponding to the African's own experience. Further suggestions for the use of drama in religious education will be found in Booth's "Serving God in the Sunday School."[14]

4. Song and liturgy. Students of primitive music recognize that the African peoples are in advance of many other non-western races in the musical arts. Not only in the profusion and variety of their instruments[15] and in their remarkable development of rhythmic configurations[16] but in melodic patterns, polyphony and antiphony their music is noteworthy. But the char-

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14 Booth, Newell S.: Serving God in the Sunday School. (London, S.P.C.K., 1937.)

15 Cf. Kirby,P.B.: The Musical Instruments of the Natives of South Africa. (London, Oxford University Press, 1934.)

16 Cf. Ballanta, N.G.J.: St.Helena Island Spirituals. (New York, G. Schirmer, 1925.) Foreword.

acteristic qualities of African music have been largely neglected in church and school, and European musical forms, (sometimes of distinctly mediocre quality) have been introduced and used almost exclusively. With capable teaching and leadership proficient rendering of western music has often been achieved; where the leadership has been less adequate the results have at times been grotesque rather than aesthetically satisfying.

But however good or bad such music may be, it is still essentially foreign. It lacks for the African the appeal of rich associations which it has for the westerner, just as indigenous musical forms possess it for the African. Music is not a universal language; its forms have symbolic values and meanings which have to be learned by long acquaintance and by association. Few white men have attempted to acquaint themselves with African music more than casually; hardly any really understand its emotional values as they exist to the African himself. Hence the European is prone to dismiss Native music as negligible, whereas any systematic observation of African life and culture indicates that music actually plays a very large part in all types of group activity.

By using western music to the almost complete exclusion of African, church and school have denied to the African peoples one of their most valuable means of spontaneous emotional expression. It will be a long time yet before the African learns to express himself in European musical and poetic forms. They are still an alien tongue which he has not mastered well enough to use as a medium of creative art. But, given the opportunity and encouragement, he should be able to apply his gifts to the

creation of distinctly African religious music, a music directly expressive of, and responsive to, the whole range of feeling evoked by his religious experience.

Obviously such work can only be done by Africans themselves. The white man who encourages them to attempt it may find himself puzzled by the results. Unless he is unusually versed in African music he will probably lack criteria of judgment; he will have to depend on the reaction of other Africans to know whether the results are satisfactory or not. But it is to be hoped that such efforts will be made and persisted in until the musical expression of African Christianity becomes truly indigenous.

Of course in any such development there will be borrowings from western music. That is to be expected. The results, being synthetic, may not satisfy the ethnologist in search of the pure culture of former generations, but they will be in keeping with the emergent life of the new Africa.[17] A similar process of fusion of African rhythmic and melodic forms with the style and content of American revivalistic hymnody gave rise to the Negro Spirituals in America. But Africa's need will not be served by the highly artificial process of translating the Spirituals into African vernaculars. Hymnodic translation is of all translation the most difficult and the least satisfactory. The technical difficulties are enormous. The result is at best a new composition in the vernacular, faintly reminiscent of the original. At worst it limps in beat and accent, defaults in

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17 Cf. the renderings of Zulu music, strongly influenced by European harmonic conceptions, obtainable on phonograph records from The Gramophone Company (H.M.V.), Great Britain; especially Nkosi sikelela Afrika.

grammar, and expresses no clear meaning at all. The latter type will be all too frequent in African hymnals as long as they are compiled chiefly from translated materials. Attempts to develop indigenous hymnody may not give any more satisfactory results at first; but they will inaugurate a spontaneous growth of which the ultimate fruitage may have values beyond all expectation.

Closely related to hymnody is the use of liturgical forms. No profound acquaintance with African life is needed to make one aware of the existence of a liturgical element in it. The characteristic death-chant, for instance, varies but little from one group of mourners to another. The expression of grief has become stylized; the profound emotions of bereavement find relief in the customary ritual of mourning; the chants and wailing have symbolic as well as literal meaning. So also the chants and ceremonies associated with puberty ceremonies, betrothal and marriage, and all other ritual activities of the group. Here also the Church has been slow to use the African's characteristic mode of expression. Religious services have tended to become stereotyped according to a limited number of patterns imported from the west. Few have stopped to ask themselves whether the African might not be able to create his own forms of worship, forms the more significant to him because they were his own. The service at Mbereshi quoted above suggests the possibilities in this field.

Against this suggestion it will doubtless be urged that all African music and ceremonial is imbued with "heathen" or "immoral" connotations which render it unfit for Christian use.

To this there are at least two important points to be raised in reply. One is that these "heathen" or "immoral" connotations are not adequately dealt with merely by ignoring them, or by the negative measure of prohibition. To use these modes of expression for wholesome ends, and to afford wholesome outlet for the natural urges which they represent is surely a wiser and more effective procedure than passing them over in silence or forbidding them expression. Secondly, wholesale condemnation without examination is hardly justified. Certainly much African music is merely frivolous and in no sense immoral. And the liturgies which enshrine their deepest emotional experiences and longings must be as capable of sublimation as are those longings and experiences themselves. The constructive approach is not that of condemnation out of hand, but that of sympathetic inquiry and study of the elements themselves and of the underlying beliefs and urges out of which they have arisen, with a view to meeting the fundamental needs they attempted to meet, but on the higher plane of Christian faith and hope.

5. <u>The sharing of experience</u>. There is an important group of media of Christian education which can only be subsumed under some such general heading as the sharing of experience. The fundamental assumptions on which the missionary or mature Christian bases his life may not become evident in his formal teaching or preaching, nor in the casual contacts of daily affairs. They are more likely to appear in small and intimate groups where there is a free give and take between the members so that the inhibitions and reticences of ordinary life are swept aside.

The same kind of process goes on between the members of a student group living together, and may contribute greatly to the growth of the individuals in the group. There is also the experience of consciously sharing the corporate life of the group, and Africans are strongly group-conscious. Finally, there is a place in Christian education for the sharing of personal insights or experiences, always in a proper spirit of humility and reverent sincerity. The realization that God is always creatively active in His world is a vital part of the Christian tradition. It is normal and proper that Christians should interpret their own life-experience in terms of God's purpose, without, of course, presuming to understand more of that infinite purpose than the very small segment which has touched their own lives.

6. Meditation. The busy-ness which is so characteristic of western peoples tends to make them oblivious to the need for quietness of mind and spirit, of allowing time for the unhurried contemplation of spiritual truth so that it becomes part of one's essential nature. But this is a real need, and lack of deep meditation has often resulted in superficial attitudes, and in activities devoid of abiding value.

> The best mission schools in Africa are those which have about them a certain unmistakable air of leisure. They are usually busy missions, but they control their busyness, it does not control them. They believe in wasting a certain amount of time.
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> . . . . . .
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> And with this sense of leisure comes reverence. "Be still and know that I am God" is a valuable motto for a school. Reverence is one of the roots of religion. It is akin to fear--not the base fear lest someone else may hurt you, but the noble fear lest you should hurt the other person--and it cannot be created save by indirect means. It is no more taught by making a boy take off his hat than

> religion is taught by making him repeat a creed. It is an attitude fostered by wide views and deep sympathies and a leisured spirit. The hectic, bustling mind that looks on education as the conveying of so many lumps of knowledge will never understand the religious bases of its work, nor will the manual training expert as such, nor will the proselytizer and the propagandist. The great agency in education is the universe of nature and of people which God made, and which manifests Him, and a man can be introduced to it only through those who are freeholders therein and have no need of chaffering. It is this universal element which is present in all great teaching. . . . There is a trick in teaching which can be learned by practice and it is effective for a certain end. The really good teacher has this trick but he has something else beside. You can call it what you will--inspiration, genius, personality--these are simply names for something that defies analysis. But it is not an accidental or casual thing. One element in it is the connection of the work in hand with the universe of which teacher, pupil, and subject are all part. It is the gift which comes to the humble of heart and the noble of soul, for they will take time to cultivate it. And this universal quality is the only real "religious basis of education" against which all mechanical divisions of studies and codes of rules are mere shams.[18]

Both pupil and teahher need this leisured spirit. It would be better in some instances to crowd the programs less full of activities and provide more time for quietness and growth of soul. Whole and wholesome people, well integrated personalities deeply rooted in God, are the end in view; they are far more important than the completion on schedule of any program of work or study whatever. Contemplation, meditation, prayer--these are essential to their growth.

7. Preaching. No list of the media of religious education in Africa could be complete without including preaching. Protestants have tended to regard the sermon as the central element of their religious service and of their ministers' work. If this view is somewhat less dominant than formerly, it is still

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18 Murray: op. cit., pp.245-46.

widespread; and very many African catechists resort to preaching on all occasions, to the exclusion of other methods of religious education. While this is certainly undesirable, the sermonic method does contain elements of value which are not to be overlooked. Properly used it combines material from the Scriptures and from the accumulated experience of Christian people with other material bearing on the life of people today, and gives to the whole of it a moral and spiritual significance as a directive for living. It is interpretive rather than merely factual, it is specific and relevant to life, it is illustrated in such ways as to make it meaningful to all who hear it, old and young, adults and children. Capable African preachers bring their congregations into a strong emotional responsiveness as a group, so that every individual present participates in the experience. The degree to which the lessons of the sermon are carried over into their lives and attitudes depends partly, of course, on the definiteness and applicability of those lessons, just as it does elsewhere. Not all preachers and not all sermons are alike in that respect. But the importance of preaching in the religious education of Africans should not be under-rated.

These, then, are some of the important media of Christian education in Africa. For their most effective use they need to be applied by appropriate agencies in suitable settings and relations. These agencies will be considered in the next section.

THE AGENCIES OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Necessity of local adaptation. Generally speaking, the agencies of religious education in central Africa are the church and the school. In rural communities these two often merge into one, the teacher-evangelist or village catechist being the leader in both phases of the community's activity. In urban areas, on the other hand, where the relatively large number of people permits more specialized activities, both church and school tend to multiply their types of program with special reference to various groups. Church and school tend then to become more clearly distinguishable, and each gives rise to additional agencies such as Sunday Schools, clubs, scouting, and so forth.

Even this brief statement suggests that uniformity of organization and program for all communities would not be desirable even if it could be obtained. The great variation in the size, culture and activities of African communities requires a correspondingly wide range in organization for the functions of religion and education. It is therefore inappropriate to attempt any general transferance of the agencies of religious education as developed in western lands to central Africa in their existing guise; complete freedom is needed for their metamorphosis into patterns appropriate to the life and needs of the various types of African community.

Village needs. Village teachers are generally more in need of help and guidance in relation to the content of their

religious education than in matters of organization. In many instances they conduct religious worship once or twice on Sunday, with preaching; daily prayers every morning or evening, or both, for the whole village; and daily religious instruction as part of the school program. With their very restricted general education and limited vocational training, with almost no books to draw on and little stimulus from contact with other leaders or with the outside world, it is not surprising that their work often sinks to a mediocrity that betrays the poverty of their minds. Monotony, repetitiousness, lack of content and of interest--these are typical faults of the village teacher as religious educator, not because he does not try, but because the output demanded of him is prodigious in comparison with the means he has to work with.

The great need of such a teacher is for materials and methods that will enable him to get out of his rut of habit and discover new approaches, new interests, new types of activity for himself and his pupils, and for the community as a whole. Some of the media discussed in the preceding section may afford exactly such new approaches, interests, and activities. The preparation and wide circulation of suitable courses of Bible reading and study, with the helps and comments needed to make clear the broad setting and meaning of the passages used both in relation to their own period and in application to present-day living, would be of material aid to the teachers. Demonstrations of new methods and ideas should be given at every teachers' meeting and conference or other gathering. Experiments in drama and song may well be encouraged and guided.

Counsellors in religious education. Certain missions have found it advisable to appoint one or more Natives as counsellors in religious education. These men travel about among the villages and seek to help the local teachers do more effective work in religious education. They should themselves be thoroughly versed in the use of all available materials and appropriate methods, and should be experienced in village work. They should be fully trained men according to whatever standard of training is available in their region. Their work is measurably similar to that of "Jeanes" teachers; it might in fact be combined with that, but the special needs and problems in the field of religious education are great enough to justify a limited number of specialists.

Perhaps the principal danger in such activity is that a man engaged in it may do the easy and obvious thing and neglect fundamental weaknesses. For example, if Sunday Schools have not been the rule in a certain area, he may go through that region encouraging the organization of Sunday Schools, without helping the village teachers much in the more vital matter of improving their whole presentation of Christianity on Sundays and week-days alike. If the teacher is already hard put to it to find content for the week-day teaching and worship services and the Sunday preaching service, the addition of a Sunday School under his direction is not likely to represent real progress unless it introduces something new and valuable in method, content, or approach. Lesson study of the traditional Sunday School type is already the rule in most African village day schools. There is little point in repeating or extending the

same type of thing to Sunday Schools as well. But suppose the Sunday School takes new forms--suppose it introduces religious pageantry and drama and enlists the whole community in such portrayals, suppose it develops its own styles of service with African hymnody and liturgy, suppose it centers on discussions of the religious and moral problems of modern village life and the larger life to which so many young men go out from the village--then it may come as a new force and interest into a religiously jaded situation. It is to this larger and more constructive task that missions may well assign specially fitted religious education counsellors.

Urban diversification. In urban surroundings, or even in the very large village communities that prevail among certain tribes, there is room for more extensive division of function and specialized organization. Organized Sunday Schools with officers and teachers who prepare themselves by special study, preferably as a group, become desirable and even necessary. Scout troops, women's societies, discussion groups in various subjects, teams and organizations for sport, community betterment associations, and many other possible forms of group activity related naturally to the church or school, or both, suggest themselves. The prototypes of these already exist in Europe and America; and the social conditions which demand them are so similar that less constructive imagination is required to adapt them to their setting than is the case in rural Africa. Nearly all of these afford scope for some phase or aspect of religious education. They may all be made the means of advancement toward fuller and better Christian living.

This diversification of activities has, however, its own danger, the danger of losing the over-view of life as a whole which is fostered by the simpler organization of the village community. The various organizations and activities may become competitors for the interest and participation of the same person. This condition, so characteristic of the hectic city life of America, is to be avoided in the program of the African church, school, and kindred organizations. There is needed:

> . . . not merely a spirit of general goodwill but careful and deliberate planning that these agencies shall consciously work into each other's hands, each a partner in a common effort to apply Christ's teaching to the whole of life and its human relationships. . .[19]

In thus planning for the full development of the whole man and the transformation of African society thereby, the Church may properly take the lead, for it accepts the greatest weight of responsibility.

> In its services the whole life of the community may find expression in worship, and from its teaching all the activities of the community may draw strength, inspiration and consecration. In the more complex conditions of western society the Church is too often regarded as primarily an organization for the provision of religious services for those who choose to attend them. In Africa it may have a more integral relation to the whole life of the community. The lines of division between secular and sacred which have grown up in the West have little meaning for the African. We in the West are trying now to heal a breach which for him has never existed.[20]

The particular set of experiences which constitutes religious education must thus be placed in effective relation to the whole range of life activity. This problem of application will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

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19 Oldham and Gibson: The Remaking of Man in Africa. p. 69.

20 Idem. p. 70.

THE APPLICATION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Effective religion is that which guides and sustains people in their hours of need and crisis as well as in times of ease and prosperity. Any religion which is found inert or inapplicable at such times of stress fails in its essential function. Christian education must therefore result in the formation of attitudes and the achievement of a religious faith that will sustain the individual and provide guidance through the deepest and poignant experiences of life. If it is limited to mere factual instruction it is not likely to prove adequate under such stress, nor will it if it remains a theorectical system of concepts and ideas or a stereotyped set of emotional responses. It needs to be applied in the actual experience of living at every point; so that such experiences may prepare and fortify the growing self for the more profound experiences which may be in store in the future.

The areas of such application are many, but those of outstanding importance are relatively few. They fall into three categories: (1) The crises of the life cycle. (2) Man at work in the natural world. (3) The sanctions of moral living.

(1) <u>The crises of the life cycle</u>. African religion was vastly concerned with the critical points in life: birth, puberty, marriage, and death. They were made the occasion of special ceremonies of the most impressive character. They were regarded as turning points, not alone for the individual, but for the clan or tribe as a whole, times of special nearness to

the ancestral spirits and of special significance in maintaining the unity and cohesion of the group. The "rites de passage" associated with them were thus the principal overt expression of that group consciousness and cohesion, and they were designed to enforce and inculcate the virtues and attitudes which the group felt necessary to its continuance and welfare.

Christianity also recognizes these stages by special symbolisms, but they are generally of a much more restrained character, and they do not embody in themselves the whole significance of the Christian view of these events. There is need for extensive supplementary interpretation, the more so when they are transferred from a setting of western culture to the life of an African people. Christian education ought to provide for the needed specific instruction in relation to these life crises and the relationships involved. It ought also to be continually establishing and fortifying the views and attitudes toward life that will help the individual (and the group) to adjust to life's successive demands with a maximum of appreciation and self-control, and with a minimum of strain.

In the order of normal conscious participation these great experiences usually follow the sequence: bereavement, puberty, marriage, birth. A brief consideration of the Christian message to African peoples in relation to each of these is necessary.

Bereavement. Death is a terrifying and soul-searching experience to the African child, no less than to the adult. Here is direct contact with the spirit world, here the great mystery which man is powerless to control. Fear dominates the group--

fear of the unseen power that causes suffering and snatches away life; fear that transfers itself to the dying person lest his spirit return to exact vengeance for some slight or disrespect. The mourning and the obsequies are thus propitiatory; and there is also frequent recourse to magic to prevent ghosts from returning to trouble the living.

The essence of the Christian teaching in relation to death should be the substitution of hope for fear. Trust in the fatherly goodness of God and commitment to His keeping are more powerful antidotes to fear than any amount of exorcism and magic. Belief in a blessed future life, however inadequately we human beings are able to conceive it, can bring peace and comfort into the bereaved household and enable the survivors to bear themselves in quietness of spirit. Christian funeral ceremonies marked by simplicity, trust and hope make death less terrible than the protracted wailing and dancing, the feasting and the destruction of property that marked the older African rites.

But guidance in this matter should not wait upon the event of death. The hour of bereavement is not the time to attempt a re-orientation of mind and heart in relation to the great mystery of the meaning and destiny of life. In calmer times the implications of Christian faith in relation to sickness and death should be worked out by every group of African Christians, and suitable behavior consistent with that faith determined upon. Then in the hour of stress the members of the group can help eachother to maintain a demeanor expressive of faith rather than fear. Some African Christian communities have already established standards for themselves in accordance with

this procedure.[21] Thus the mental and emotional concept and the outward expression of it in behavior reinforce eachother.

Puberty. The second type of life-crisis which the growing child experiences is the changes of puberty. African children are not confused in their attempts to understand how life begins by any subterfuges about the stork. Life unfolds before them in complete frankness, and even small children are quite aware of the physical facts of procreation and birth. But puberty involves a change of attitude toward them; whereas they were formerly external facts they now become part of the personal world of interest, experience and emotion. There is also the concomitant change from childhood to maturity, the emergence into the full life of the group with its cares and responsibilities as well as its privileges.

All of these changes were recognized and symbolized in the initiation rites to which many African tribes subjected their youths and maidens at this stage. The sexual instruction and excitation seem to have been designed to promote fertility and thus ensure the continuance of the tribe. To this element was added much otherinstruction in tribal lore, ceremonies, tabus, etiquette and the duties of adulthood. Tests of fortitude, endurance, and physical hardihood eliminated the unfit and inured the others to hardship and danger. And the change of status was dramatized by the symbolic death of the child and emergence of the adult under a new name as a new creature.

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21 E.g., that burial must take place within twenty-four hours; that excessive wailing is to be avoided and that quiet demeanor is more seemly than violent emotional display; that there shall be no dancing, no feasting, no breaking of property on the grave; that Christian funeral services are used, supplemented if desired by group prayers; etc.

Certain missions, having perceived the cultural significance of these ceremonies, have attempted to transmute them into Christian rites.[22] Whether this is the wisest course may not be certain; but it is clear that Christianity should in some form or other provide the cultural and moral equivalent of them in terms appropriate to the new day and the Christian faith. Young men and women need guidance and instruction regarding the new tides of feeling with the maturing of the reproductive function entails. The physiological and hygienic aspects of the question need to be made clear to them as well as the psychological, moral and social implications. Sexual matters need to be set in a larger and truer light than the merely physical data of immediate experience can give. This is a matter of grave importance, in which occidental reticence has doubtless done African Christians a great dis-service by its lack of candor. Native life is often described as sex-obsessed. But sex is one of the great natural interests of man, and this fact will not be altered by maintaining a silence which the African can only regard as unnatural, but by a frank treatment of the subject which sets it in truer perspective in relation to the many other aspects and interests of life.[23]

But, just as the old initiation rites recognized this period as one of emergent maturity, Christian education should also give aid and guidance to the adolescent in his efforts to

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22 Cf. page 139. The attempt is favorably assessed by Lucas, W.V. (Bishop of Masasi): Educational Value of Initiatory Rites, International Review of Missions, v.16 (1927) pp.192-98. It is criticised by Raum, J.: Christianity and African Puberty Rites. Same volume, pp.581-91.

23 Notable work in sex instruction has been done by Rev. Ray E. Phillips of Johannesburg. Cf. his book: African Youth and Sex Hygiene. (Durban, American Board Mission, 1935.)

adjust himself to adulthood. Vocational guidance should be fostered. Social education should indicate the duties and virtues of adult living from the Christian viewpoint. Where the old tribal groupings still prevail the privileges and responsibilities of membership in them should be stressed, with corresponding emphasis on the still greater group, the "tribe of God," The personal and social adjustments of adulthood should be grounded in Christian faith and validated by the accumulated experience of past generations and by present fellowship with others.

Marriage. The most vital adjustment of this or a somewhat later period is that of marriage. Here again Native culture had an elaborate tradition of procedure, which Christianity has largely neglected, tolerating it in part but not fully appreciating its significance. This procedure is capably summarized by Dr. Westermann.

> When a group hands over one of its daughters to another group it is obvious for it to expect compensation for the loss of one of its members. . . . In . . . every form of marriage . . . the man or his group has to perform certain services or to give certain gifts to the group of the bride. A form widely distributed in West Africa is that the young man, together with the members of his own age-group, helps his father-in-law for several years in working his fields, and has in addition continuously to make presents to the girl and her people. Among pastoral tribes the bride-wealth consists of cattle. The idea of compensation is, however, not the only point of view in the handing over of bride-wealth. It is at the same time a form of insurance for the good treatment of the daughter, a pledge for the friendly relationship between the two groups, and it contributes to the respect felt for the bride and her group among the man's group. In each case it is the act legalizing marriage and is consequently of great social significance.
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> . . . . . .
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> The wife herself estimates her value and the consideration which she will enjoy from her husband and his family according to the amount of the bride-wealth paid for her.

> The position of the husband to his wife and her relatives is from the very first ambiguous if his payments were small, or if any part of them is still owing. He must be prepared on the occasion of their first quarrel for his wife to reproach him sarcastically with his unpunctuality and to threaten to cease to do her duties. For the African who has not been influenced by European ideas, a marriage concluded without bride-wealth means a humiliation and even dishonour to the wife, and even the educated, and most of the Christian Natives adhere to this view.[24]
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> Even in Christian communities the attitude to this custom has hardly undergone any essential change. Many missions are fighting against it, but hardly anywhere with complete success. The idea that the bride-gift is necessary for the making of a legally valid and lasting marriage is too deeply rooted to be eradicated in a few generations. It is true that resolutions are passed in the Church Councils forbidding or regulating such payments, but as long as they are due to the initiative of the missionary and not to an expressed desire of the Natives themselves, they will have but little effect. The question therefore suggests itself whether the custom cannot be retained in a purified form.[25]

Here again certain missions have perceived, in part at least, the social significance of the custom and its importance for the stability of the whole Native social structure, and are content that it should continue provided it does not assume extravagant proportions.

But the responsibility of Christianity in relation to marriage is not discharged merely in assuming a position with regard to the bride-wealth question and in performing a marriage ceremony. The Christian view of marriage and the marital relationship involves elements that were not adequately recognized in Native marriage, and that will not gain proper recognition without definite instruction and guidance. The essentials of these concepts are expressed in the Christian marriage

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24 Westermann: The African To-day. pp.124-26.

25 Idem: pp.136-37.

ceremony itself--that marriage is holy, that it rests upon mutual respect, honor and trust, that it demands mutual support and faithfulness, that it involves mutual obligation in perpetuity and is not lightly set aside.

But a wedding is quickly over, and if the husband and wife have not previously been taught these concepts and accepted them as their own basis of fellowship, the service cannot be expected to make a very deep or lasting impression on them. In such a case it is to the old tradition, to the gifts and tokens exchanged between the families, and to the intervention of the elders of the families in case of trouble, rather than to the Christian ceremony, that the enduring bond of the marriage will be due. By the same token, the relation of husband and wife in the home and the character of their home life will correspond to whichever norm carries most weight in their purposing and acting in the marriage relation. If their Christian teaching has been left in the abstract, left unrelated to those intimate aspects of life, their home is not apt to be greatly bettered thereby.

Moreover, with the general loosening of the hold of the old tradition over the lives of the younger generation, the obligations and conventions of that code are likewise losing their force. Many young people feel little respect for them. This accentuates the need for definite, specific Christian teaching and guidance in relation to betrothal, marriage, home life, and the relations of the sexes generally.

Childbirth. Lastly there is the crisis of childbirth. Primitive life surrounds pregnancy and birth with a multitude of special observances and tabus. Doubtless these are largely therapeutic in intention; but the birth of the first child frequently involves a definite change in status for the mother, and often for the father too. Furthermore, it confirms the marriage tie, which is often considered tentative until a child is born. Christian observances vary from the double ceremony of infant baptism and the purification of the mother in the Roman Catholic Church to no ceremony at all in the case of certain Protestant groups. If the ceremony of purification is interpreted to imply a defilement, real or ceremonial, in conception and birth, it scarcely represents an advance over African ideas. Certainly it is out of keeping with the highest Christian concept of the sanctity of marriage. But there is need for a ceremony of some kind which engages the parents of the child to fulfil toward it and toward society the responsibilities of Christian parenthood. Many missionaries see that this character is given to the ceremonies attending birth.

But here again definite teaching and guidance are needed as well as the recognition of the event in an appropriate service. This is another aspect of home life concerning which the Church should not assume that African peoples will find their way by themselves without reference to the wider experience of other peoples and of the long past. At the same time the specific application to African conditions can only be made adequately by Africans themselves in consultation with able and trusted white associates.

The studies being made for the 1938 meeting of the International Missionary Council[26] afford some very practical approaches to be whole question of the Christian interpretation of family life. Once the importance of the field has been suggested to African leaders it is to be hoped that continued exploration of it will yield new Christian meanings, new preaching and teaching values, and new power to help people live wotthily and happily and to face the future unafraid.

2. Man at work in the natural world. In the old tradition whatever the African did was done under the sanctions of religion. Agriculture involved propitiation of the powers of fertility at the time of planting and a sacrifice of thanksgiving at the harvest. Whether the soil was regarded as an active partner worthy of religious respect is doubtful; the African loves his land as the abiding place of his ancestral spirits, the burial place of his fathers, and his own familiar home; but agriculturally the soil is apparently just something to be used in a material sense. But there is an intense sense of personal relationship to the growing crop, amounting to great jealousy lest a single plant that one has nurtured should pass into the hands of another.

Crafts likewise rested on religious sanctions. If the iron-worker failed in his efforts to smelt the ore the fault was assumed to be in his neglect of some incantation or failure to perform correctly the required ritual; faulty manipulation of the work itself was only a concomitant of the ritual

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26 Especially Gollock, G.A.: God's Family in the World. (London, United Society for Christian Literature, 1936.)

error. The hunter would not set out on the chase without performing the necessary rites, and if he failed to kill he would regard himself as thwarted by spiritual adversaries. These are typical examples of the religious conceptions permeating many if not all of the daily activities of African peoples in their quest for subsistence and their efforts to use natural resources.

The white man characteristically regards these activities as purely secular and fails to see in them any religious significance at all. So when the African comes closely enough in touch with white people really to appreciate the texture of their ideas he discovers that they are living in a world much less colored by religion than his own. And thereupon his own religion begins to crumble, for the European has been more successful in mastering the world of nature by his rational approach than the African has by his empirical methods grounded in religious conceptions.

Nevertheless, the white man's secular view is also incomplete. He is not always sufficiently conscious of the vast reaches of the unknown which surround his limited and partial explorations of nature through science, nor the realms of value which give life meaning but which science cannot explore at all. Those insights which seem truest and most profound are continually referring man's mind as well as his emotions back to a conception of reality which is essentially religious. The existence of rationally intelligible law in the world of nature brings man face to face at once with an ordering and controlling intelligence infinitely greater than his own.

The immanence of the spiritual in the natural is not as obvious as the African has supposed, but it is no less real; it is less fortuitous, but more universal.

Christian education ought, then, to build upon the African's sense of spiritual power in nature, and thus present a more valid and satisfying view of the world than the purely secular attitude of materialistic thought. The spiritual implications of agriculture and the crafts--and of all human activity--need to be reinterpreted in Christian terms. But this is a far larger matter than the mere substitution of Christian ceremonies for the old African rites at seed-time and harvest, or for the rituals of smelting or of hunting. In fact those attempts at substitution are likely to miss the mark as to vital Christian content and to remain, for the participants, essentially magical in meaning. If, for instance, the land is "blessed" at seed-time, it is extremely hard to avoid the implication that that particular land ought to be more productive than other un-blessed land, because of the ceremony. But that conception is sheer magic, entirely incompatible with rational understanding of agriculture as a natural process governed by scientific law. In the writer's judgment it would be better to have no ceremony than to re-introduce such magical concepts under the sanction of Christianity.

The real problem is the far larger one which has already been referred to more than once--that of synthesizing the Christian intuition of God at work in the world with the results of scientific investigation of nature and our enlarging understanding of human inter-relationships in society. Any

human activity, from primitive agriculture to the most involved patterns of western culture, can be fully interpreted and evaluated only by reference to a frame in which those three elements stand in due relation as co-ordinate measuring rods of reality. It is not enough to deplore the secularization of African agriculture. That is just one small aspect of the general secularization of thought which has been going on throughout western culture for three centuries or more, and which spreads to everything that culture touches. Palliative measures will do no more than postpone the change. What is really needed is a fundamental re-thinking of the nature of reality which will result in a vital Christian philosophy, essentially religious, compatible with all the data of science, and dynamic in setting in order human inter-relations and mutual obligations.

3. The sanctions of moral living. The same need for fundamental Christian thinking is equally apparent in the realm of moral obligations and standards. The breakdown of the bases of African morality has already been discussed. The crucial point seems to be that western life is essentially individualistic in outlook, whereas African life was essentially communal. Cultural relations being as they are the individualistic view seems bound to prevail.

But the inadequacy of western individualism, and of the Christian moral conceptions based upon it, is being increasingly realized today.[27] The perception is growing that obligations to society take precedence over personal, individual rights, and

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27 Cf. Morrison, C.C.: The Church, Catholic and Protestant. Christendom, v.2, pp.274-89. (1937)

that the powers of achievement and opportunities for rich and varied living which are, theoretically at least, conferred by membership in a complex society must be paid for by the surrender of large areas of individual freedom to the needs of society as a whole. Exactly what this surrender involves in societies of the western type is not yet clear. Much of contemporary history may perhaps be best understood as attempts to discover the most satisfactory balance between individual and social needs. But of the necessity of subordinating the individual to the group where common interest demanded, it both African society and primitive Christianity were perfectly aware; and it is unfortunate, to say the least, that the stark individualism of western culture involves Africa in a social breakdown which is in no wise implicit in the Christian Gospel itself, however much it may be fostered by the practice of some Christian bodies from the West.

It is contended by many Christian thinkers that Christianity alone affords a constructive basis for social integration--that it is the only practicable alternative to force, and that force is always self-defeating in the end.

> You cannot get social solidarity without a unit of society that is ready to sacrifice itself. . . . You must have in a living state something which will maintain a willing, persistent, self-sacrificing desire to put one's-self at the command of the whole, and that means that you have to have . . . religion to make a society work.[28]

This is essentially the principle which Christianity embodies in its great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"--a love which is not optional, but an absolute im-

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28 Hocking, W.E.: Christianity and Intercultural Contacts. Journal of Religion, v. 14, (1934) pp134.

perative, not a matter of sentiment, but the essential constructive quality which must inhere in all human activity to make it socially worthful, that is, moral.

Christian thought contends that this principle is a workable basis of moral judgment and conduct, which, even though never fully worked out, still affords a way of life, a standard and ideal of conduct. Christian intuition would go further still, and declare that whatever fulfils this law behefits humanity and so is good, while whatever violates it carries within itself its own doom of failure, defeat and decay. This is of course an affirmation of faith, an attitude toward life, which forever defies complete demonstration.

But this Christian law of brotherhood is the basis of moral living and social relations which the Church offers to the African--and to all men. It fulfils the African's old sense of respensibility to his kindred. It goes beyond it by enlarging the area of mutual concern beyond the clan and tribe to the whole range of humanity. It exemplifies it by bringing the African Christian into fellowship with a group of people of all realms and nations who, nominally at least, accept the mutual ties and obligations of Christian brotherhood. But the Church--the Church Universal, not alone the African Church--must go on to higher conceptions and higher achievements of unity and effective mutual concern in fact as well as in name, if it is to fulfil this promise of brotherhood. And it must do this in the face of new tides of separatism, national egotism and selfishness that threaten even the meagre accomplishments so far achieved.

We are beginning to see that we dare not apply the phrase "Christian system" to anything that cannot meet the test of these five daunting words. "They shall be one flock."[29]

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29 Young, T. Cullen: How far can African Ceremonial be incorporated in the Christian System? Africa, v.8 (1935) p.215.

CHAPTER 8

CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION OF EFFORT

The preceding pages present a picture of missions in African colonies markedly different from that of earlier days. Then, every mission was a pioneer, pressing forward into unknown territory, both physically, in making contact with new tribes and peoples, and in the deeper sense of discovering new customs, new ways of living and new ruling conceptions of life and the world. Now the map has been drawn, in its main outlines at least. Few African peoples still remain entirely out of touch with Christianity or with white civilization. Few African customs or concepts are still unexplored territory to the missionary or the ethnographer. In those earlier days, again, every mission--sometimes every missionary--was a law unto itself because distances and lack of communications made intercourse difficult and costly. Missions often preceded governments into new territories. In any case they set about serving the people they found as seemed to them good. The need was limitless, and they had no competitors. Now, the missions have touched hands across the borders of their fields. In most areas Protestants and Roman Catholics compete for a hearing, in some regions

rival sects within the same communion attempt to serve the same people. Everywhere government exists, and increasingly the interests of government and missions overlap. No agency has a free hand; all are bound to correlate their activities and to take account of the interests and aims and rights of others.

It is doubtful whether the magnitude and significance of this change is understood by any considerable proportion of people in the homelands. The more alert mission boards perceive it, of course, as do those who are intimately in touch with other phases of colonial activity. But the average supporter of missions probably still pictures the Africa of Livingstone more readily than the Africa of today. And, if the new conditions were described to him, the new Africa might seem, at first sight, distinctly less exciting, less exacting in its demands on the missionary, and less abounding in opportunity than the old. That, however, would be a misjudgment of the situation, for the new Africa makes demands and affords adventure and opportunity far in excess of the old, though to some extent in different spheres of activity.

The missionary of today is essentially an interpreter rather than an explorer. There are, to be sure, still some new regions to be entered, still languages to be reduced to writing, still peoples who must be won to a first hearing of the Gospel. Those who seek this type of work can still find employment for their gifts in Africa. But the emphasis is shifting increasingly to the growing Christian communities, the emergent African Church and its surrounding life. It is being

realized, as territorial occupation of the field approaches completion, how very incomplete is the occupation of the whole field of African life. Missionaries have discovered that their work has a larger setting than they had clearly perceived--that while they have been busy reaching the African with the message of God a multitude of agencies from Europe and America, and even Japan, have been reaching the African in many other ways, and that they must take account of this totality of influences if their guidance is to be wise and effective. They must succeed in interpreting all this to the Africans in such a way as to enable African personality and society to triumph over these influences, and use them rather than be mastered by them.

Thus the missionary has been driven by necessity to become an interpreter of the outer world, and of the white man's world of ideas, to the African, in a larger measure than was ever anticipated at the outset. It is the writer's conviction, based on his own experience, that the missionary must also be the interpreter to western Christianity of the new Africa and the modern African. The church in the homeland is not aware of the changing life and problems of Africa, nor of the responsibilities in relation thereto which can only be discharged by Christian missions backed up by an alert and informed Christian community in western lands. The presentation of the effects of western civilization on African life and the values of Christianity in relation thereto affords the most powerful argument for the continuance of missions, with increased support to enable them to discharge their responsibilties.

As a result of all the changes and developments of recent decades, missions are finding themselves much more closely intouch with oneanother, more closely bound in a community of interests, and more intimately related to other agencies, especially government, than ever before. And, by reason of their success during the past years and decades, most missions find themselves responsible for the guidance of a rapidly growing and increasingly self-conscious indigenous Church and Christian community. Coöperation is thus possible, and needed, on a scale and in ways which were impossible even a few years ago. Two important considerations lead to coöperation: (1) the need and possibility of doing jointly what no mission could compass by itself or for itself, and (2) the interests of Christian unity and fellowship on a scale transcending territorial and organizational boundaries. In this final chapter it is proposed to suggest some of the areas in which coöperation is, or may become, particularly important, and some of the conditions essential to effective coöperation. In conclusion the presumptive implications of this development for future missionary organization will be outlined.

AREAS OF MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION

1. Large-scale planning. The complexity of the issues confronting missions today, and the need for comprehensive and incisive thought in relation to them have been suggested repeatedly in previous chapters. No single mission is ordinarily in

a position to see the whole of its own problem, much less the whole solution of it. The pooling of experience and of thought has been found repeatedly to result in advantage to all. Periodical conferences of missionaries, transcending mission lines, have been held in Congo since about 1902, (and more recently in other central African fields also.) Since 1911 these conferences have been supplemented by annual inter-mission committee meetings. There have also been various regional gatherings and committees for special purposes. Since 1921 the Congo missions have employed a Secretary (on part time until 1928) to foster this collaboration. A quarterly journal has been published since 1912 as an organ for the exchange of news, views, and experience. This long period of gradually increasing fellowship has made it possible in more recent years to take further steps in effective planning together, and to advise with the government on many matters of mutual concern as a group rather than as disunited individual missions. It is probable that missions in such fields as central Africa are still only at the beginning of effective joint planning of their work on a large scale, and that the next few years will see important developments in this practice.

2. Field-wide unity in the Church, with geographical rather than sectarian organization. A second important step in cooperation was taken by the Protestant missions in Congo in 1934, when it was agreed that the entire Protestant community in Congo should be looked upon as a corporate unity.

It was agreed:

> That missions and missionaries agree to let their distinctive missionary society names recede into the background, in order to emphasize the corporate unity of the Church of Christ, and deepen the consciousness of that unity in the hearts of all converts. 'That Christ may be all, and in all.'[1]

Effect was given to this proposal by the preparation of a uniform certificate of church membership, in which the name of the mission, if shown at all, would appear in small print below the corporate title "Eglise du Christ au Congo." The missions agreed that members in good standing in the branch of the church related to any mission would be received without discrimination, it being understood that they would be expected to conform to the standards of Christian practice in force in the group into which they came.

It is to be hoped that further effect will be given to this development, by the organization of the church on regional or ethnographic lines rather than by mission bouhdaries. Certain missions already have church councils in their areas; and the mission areas from which representatives thus come together are occasionally quite illogically distributed from the viewpoint of geography or tribal distribution. It would be well for the missions to give joint consideration to the whole matter of church organization in the near future, and to resulutely set about building up a grouping of communities and constituencies that will be convenient and effective for the Native church through the years rather than adhere to the accidental and often illogical lines of mission occupation.

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1 Christ and the Congo, p.13.

Another development which should take place in the not distant future is the formation of a Colony-wide Native Christian Council, either integral with the existing Congo Protestant Council or closely related thereto. While it is clear that leadership does not at present exist in the Native church of a calibre and experience that would guarantee the effectiveness of such a council, and while barriers of expense and of language make it difficult to bring into being such a council, it is also clear that only by attempting to do so can the difficulties be overcome and Native leaders trained to think in broader terms and assume larger responsibilities. It is probable, that, given opportunities for such growth, a group of leaders would rapidly emerge into levels of ability and effectiveness not yet dreamed of by the missionaries.

In thus achieving the first steps of progress toward a united Native Church, Congo is perhaps somewhat in advance of other central African fields. It is to be hoped progress will continue, and that the movement toward Christian unity in all Africa will gain headway and not be impeded by the backwardness of the supporting church organizations in the homelands.

3. Cooperation in education. Education affords a particularly important field for cooperative effort. In a number of instances missions have been cooperating already for long periods in the maintenance of joint institutions of learning, particularly training schools for teaching and other professions, and other institutions of higher learning--higher, at least, relatively to the general educational level. Within recent years several additional fields of educational cooperation have

gained attention. Among these are joint planning and program building, joint text-book production, and joint provision of specialized educational service.

As long as missions alone were interested in education, and each mission occupied an exclusive field, little need was felt for consultation. But with the increasing interest of government in the education of African peoples, with increasing facility of communication between missions, and with increased recognition of the essential place of education in the Christian's growth and upbuilding, missions have realized their need for more adequate and comprehensive planning and better administration of their educational work. Consequently there have been in recent years a number of conferences, committees, and special meetings of various kinds devoted to the educational problems of various areas or various groups of missions. In some of these governments have also participated; others have been held by mission groups alone. They have resulted in considerable advance in the educational thinking of the groups concerned, and in a fairly general recognition of the importance of the problems and questions involved. Yet Dougall is probably still correct in his characterisation of missionary education as a whole.

> There is still too little understanding on our part of the full scope of education. Missionaries are but slowly outgrowing an antiquated notion of education as instruction. They are not as a class radical or progressive thinkers. Most of them have little time to think or read. The intimate relationship of the classroom to the environment of life outside is still imperfectly understood. The nature of education as social activity is as yet a new idea. Learning by the repetition of formulae will take a long time to disappear. What is more serious is the extent to which religion and education are still divorced, so that a missionary will feel that the latter is concerned with secular subjects while the other involves, on the contrary, 'soul'

> or 'character.' These are the results of a long tradition of the isolation of religion from life, and a defective instrumental theory of education based on a faculty psychology. But it is none the less true that among the finest teachers in East Africa are the missionaries, men and women concerned with the growth of persons in contact with each-other through objective feeling, through growing wisdom, through acceptance of responsibility in the happy, varied and ordered life of a school and school society. It is of the utmost importance, not merely for missionary work, but for the welfare and progress of these territories, that such missionary teachers should increase in number and quality. [2]

It is therefore important that such gatherings for mutual planning and counsel should continue, and that they should be informed by the best modern understanding of the meaning and scope of education. Comparatively few missionaries have any extensive educational training, and those who do are often unable to keep up with the advance of educational thinking as the years pass. It may be that one of the signal contributions of an educational adviser might lie in providing this general reorientation of thought regarding education, in its bearings on Native life on the one hand, and on the Christian method on the other. If this reorientation could form the basic platform of education conferences and committees throughout central Africa, significant developments in practice might quite possibly follow.

A second field of cooperation in which a beginning has been made is the cooperative production of textbooks and literature. Here the incentive has come quite largely from the capable Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, Miss Margaret Wrong; but the committee is helping meet a need which had long been felt.

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2 Dougall, J.W.C.: Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda. pp. 13-14.

Literature for Africa, whether in the vernaculars or in European languages, is woefully inadequate both in quantity and in suitability. Missionaries have long been aware of this, and, in vernacular literature especially, what does exist is almost entirely the work of missionaries who have added literature production to their manifold other duties and cares. But relatively few people are gifted both in the use of language (especially African vernaculars) and in the ability to select and adapt materials so as to produce a thoroughly useful book. Again, most of the books in existence are antiquated in their psychological or pedagogical approach. Many of them are based with slight modifications on textbooks used in Europe or America from thirty to fifty years ago. Books that have become "standard" in a mission are reprinted and continued in use long after they should be retired, because the substitution of newer and better texts, if they exist, would involve much extra effort and expense.

Now no single mission, generally speaking, is in a position to produce the whole set of books which it needs. Where several missions work in the same or closely similar languages it has often been found possible to cooperate in book production. This practice should be further extended. To do so involves language questions, which will be discussed presently. But cooperation is also possible to a certain extent on a scale transcending language areas. Basic texts produced in one African language can be translated into English or French and thus made available for re-translation into other vernaculars with less effort than the preparation of an original

text would entail. Only a beginning has been made in the use of this method, but it appears to have large possibilities. Capable writers need to be discovered, encouraged, and made available.

It appears probable that adequate vernacular literatures will never be produced until Native authors are entrusted with the task. Foreigners rarely master a language well enough to write it, not merely correctly, but with precision and good style.[3] White men and women in Africa often fail to appreciate even that "good style" is a term applicable to African languages, much less acquire it. They tend rather to distort the true idiom of the language in the direction of their own prepossessions, to assimilate it to English or French or Portuguese or Swedish--languages with which it has no natural connection. Once dictionaries and grammars and a rudimentary literature have been produced these in turn become the norm of the written language, especially to the "eye-minded" Europeans who find it easier to learn the language from books than from the lips of the people. As they in turn write books the written language becomes increasingly artificial and limited in scope and flexibility, and the quality of the output tends to deteriorate rather than improve. Thus there is need to turn to Native writers, and to give them great freedom in discarding the artificial conventions which surround the writing of many African languages. Their output may be surprising at first; it may require some cautious editing--always in consultation with the author; but gifted individuals will be found here and there, and they should be

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3 Even English literature has had but one Joseph Conrad out of all the millions who have learnéd the language.

given the largest opportunity for literary production.

Cooperation in literature production may well be carried on through inter-mission literature committees, one committee serving an entire language area, but this type of relationship can only be effective if these committees are given a measure of authority and allowed the use of the literature funds of their missions. If an inter-mission literature committee is established in an area, the missions co-operating therein should cease to print or reprint anything beyond small local or experimental editions and submit all larger matters to the committee for action. Only so can the committee make an effective contribution to the betterment of literature and the unification of language practices.

The missions of East Africa have for several years cooperated through the special agency of an Educational Adviser. This officer is, in his own words:

> a missionary educationist who is set free to devote his whole time to the study of a policy of Christian education, and to see how it can best be achieved through co-operation.[4]

His functions include the following elements:

Familiarity with current educational thought and experience.

Understanding of Government policy, and acquaintance and, if possible, collaboration with government officers.

Acquaintance with all the missions, appreciation of their educational aims, practices, problems, resources and needs.

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4 Dougall: op. cit., p. 19.

Enlistment of cooperation in formulating and carrying out advances in educational policy.

Discovering common needs among groups of missions, and developing cooperative measures to meet these needs.

Guiding experimentation and making available to all any resultant benefits.

Direct consultation with the councils and committees of the various missions.

Mediation of the practical difficulties which arise in efforts to cooperate.

Dissemination of ideas and suggestions from one mission or missionary to others.[5]

In all of this it is understood that education is interpreted in its broadest sense, so that its field is coextensive with life in its unitary wholeness, and so that Christian education means interfusing all life experience with the Christian ideals and motives. This view has been developed in the preceding chapters.[6]

The work of the Educational Adviser in East Africa has been highly significant, and it is to be hoped that similar cooperative steps may take place in other central African fields.

4. Cooperation in language development. The problems of literature production have already been touched upon. Back of literature lies language, and in Africa it is largely the missionary who has learned the languages, written them, and so made

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5 These factors are excerpted from Dougall: op. cit., pp.19-21.
6 Cf. also Dougall: op. cit., pp.17-18, 29-33, and passim.

possible written vernacular literatures. This is a valuable, in fact an essential piece of work, for which succeeding generations whose road has been smoothed thereby can have only gratitude. But it must be stressed once again that this is only the first stage of language development, and that the present generation has tasks in the field of language which are quite as important and less adequately performed.

> Good literature, says Victor Murray, creates in the reader the experience of the writer, and builds up a body of knowledge or experience which becomes the heritage of the race. It is in this way that a language becomes adequate to express "spiritual capacities." This power is not in the language as a collection of words and syntax, but in the language as written, and representing the accumulated experience of a great many people on which all the users of it unconsciously draw. It is unfortunate that in Africa so much of the study of the vernacular is so entirely static--it is the concern of grammarians and anthropologists, who anaylize and classify what is already there. It should, of course, be the concern of teachers and preachers, Native and European, using it, writing it, playing about with it, translating into it, and so developing it.[7]

This dynamic conception of language as a growing tool, constantly being adapted to new needs by those who use it, needs consideration by African missionaries. All African languages today are growing by accretion from European languages and by interchange of elements among themselves. They are losing many of the idioms and some of the finesse which they developed during the long and relatively stable tribal period. In some instances they are tending to coalesce--lesser languages are losing themselves in more vital or more widely useful tongues. True languages are competing with makeshift hybrids in the cities.

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7 Murray, A.V.: The School in the Bush. p. 149.

No-one would claim that this process can be altogether controlled by taking thought; but to a certain extent it can be; and the missions are a very important factor in determining the future course of language development in many instances. Secondary languages of no particular importance have sometimes been made important by their chance selection as a literary medium. Local variants have become enshrined in the literature as special idioms of the language. Differences of orthography, based perhaps on the differing usages of two European languages, have resulted in the cleavage of a single language into two or more written forms, each with its literature and each defended by acrimonious partizanship. These things were almost inevitable in the early days of fumbling progress when no general perspective was possible. But today a general perspective is possible, and linguistic progress should be planned for in the light of a thorough understanding of all the factors affecting a given language area. The reduction of the number of currently used African languages is a necessary step toward the development of adequate literatures. It is doubtful whether any language spoken by less thana million people can hope to survive and develop an adequate autonomous literature. Smaller languages akin to major African tongues should be oriented in the direction of assimilation thereto, and educational work should use the literature of the more important languages just as far as possible. This is a matter which requires wide cooperative planning and far-sighted statesmanship; together with a willingness to forget past views and differences in working toward a larger future goal.

5. Social and economic planning. Finally, there is need for cooperation in the whole broad field of social and economic planning. Here the government also may take a hand and invite the collaboration of the missions in carrying out plans of its own. Previous chapters have attempted to show how intimately religious, educational and medical development in African peoples is bound up with every aspect of their life. The interests and responsibilities of missions cannot be circumscribed, therefore, but reach out into every phase of Native life. The activities of the missions are profoundly affecting the whole structure of African society, in common with other forces. And changes in African society are reacting upon missions and the Native church, creating new problems and new opportunities, new capacities and new needs.

From all of this it results that missions must be vitally aware of the whole life and movement of African society. Missionaries must be able to think constructively in social and economic terms as well as in religious and educational terms. But such thinking must rest on broader bases than the limited field of view of any single mission. Cooperative thinking and planning is essential. Groups of missions find themselves confronted with the same problem--for instance a labor migration to a developing mining field, or the poverty of the villages which makes adequate salaries for pastors and teachers impossible. It is becoming quite customary in certain areas to convene an ad hoc committee or council to study such a situation and make

recommendations for dealing with it. The various bodies concerned are thus enabled to benefit by the common judgment, and to adjust their action to that of others. Such co-ordinate action may in some instances lead to cooperative action subsequently. In certain instances such gatherings have included Natives as well as missionaries; and wherever the problem is one which intimately concerns Native customs and life--as for instance Christian marriage--Native voices should preponderate.

The importance of this type of planning should be more fully realized, and the thinking of all missionaries should be broadened so that they perceive their own field and work in in true relationship to the whole area and the whole fabric of African life.

Thus cooperation opens up wide vistas of possibilities for missionary advance in scope and effectiveness of work. It must be recognized that certain types of advance can only be made at the cost of increased expenditure and increased personnel. On the other hand cooperative planning may suggest readjustments which will produce larger total gains through concerted effort by broadening the effectiveness of the individual's work. It is important that missions shall cultivate a concern for the whole cause so as to be willing to forego immediate gains, where necessary, for the sake of making larger contributions to the general advance.

CONDITIONS OF EFFECTIVE COOPERATION

It may not be amiss to suggest some of the conditions which experience has shown to be conducive to fruitful and mutually satisfactory cooperation. This subject has been comprehensively treated by Dr. John R. Mott,[7] and it will suffice here to suggest certain points which African experience has brought into prominence.

1. An important common aim and interest. Cooperation is not an end in itself. It is the means to some accomplishment, and it involves the giving of effort, time, money and counsel, the setting aside of contrary private interests and conflicting views in the interest of the cooperative enterprise. The objective must therefore be large enough and commanding enough to justify the sacrifices involved, not for the moment alone, but as a permanent condition. Hence it is useless to propose cooperation unless the need is real and well recognized, unless the advantages of cooperative over separate action are indisputable, and unless there is sufficient unity of aim and harmony of outlook among the parties concerned to afford a basis for agreement and common action.

2. A generous spirit of concession and helpfulness. Differences in viewpoint often emerge when people begin to work together; and these sometimes become so great as to threaten the unity of their undertaking. It is essential that all parties to a cooperative venture enter the enterprise without

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7 Mott, John R.: Cooperation and the World Mission. (New York, International Missionary Council, 1935.)

reservation, open or secret, as to the extent to which they will make concessions in the interest of cooperation. If all parties are willing to go much more than half way, if need be, a harmonious relationship is assured. If one or more parties concede only reluctantly on the points of their special interests, an atmosphere unfavorable to successful cooperation is created, and extraordinary tact and grace may be required of others to maintain harmony.

3. Personal compatibility. Failures in cooperation are too often due to personal discord between members of the cooperating groups. This may reflect the national or social backgrounds of the individuals concerned, or it may arise from divergent training or viewpoint, or again it may simply arise from the social ineptitude of an individual. Real grace is needed to overcome these irritating differences and personal characteristics and arrive at a harmony that transcends them.

> The differences between missions are so immense that co-operation at any time is a signal triumph of grace. These differences go far back into history. They are not merely theological or ecclesiastical, but cultural and national. The farmer from the Middle West and the man from an English public school and ancient university would seem to have little in common except their interest in African people. The Scot with his severe individualistic background of education is poles apart from the Englishman in his experience of the corporate life of a school. When to these differences are added those peculiarities of idiom and manners which go back to parentage and upbringing, there is obviously a large opportunity for misunderstanding. These are all aggravated by the fact that missions still work separately, their interests as societies may easily conflict, and the profit on one may arouse the envy of another. The possibility of real co-operation in educational work may be arrested by differences of church discipline and moral judgments, since church and school involve each other. If we

> add to these complexities the fact of Government, which may regard an educational question from an entirely different angle, we see that co-operation is not to be looked for as a natural growth, but rather as an achievement of sympathy, patience and tact.[8]

4. Autonomy. This quotation from Dougall suggests a fourth requirement, freedom from outside interference or domination. The cooperating group will discover its own problems, and, if it is wise, it will work out its own solutions of them, taking account of experience elsewhere and of the wishes of the missions or other constituents, but not bound too closely thereby. The constituents must learn to trust the group to whom they have entrusted special functions, and not to interfere too hastily when they depart from the beaten track. It is part of the function of cooperative endeavor to fertilize activity by bringing together various viewpoints and special capacities. If the results could be foreseen part of the value would be lost. The cooperating group must be given freedom and authority to accomplish their special mission.

5. Absence of encumbering machinery. The machinery of cooperation should be as simple as possible, and should preserve great flexibility to meet contingencies as they arise. There should be a minimum of special Boards and committees, and a minimum also of approvals and ratifications to make effective the work of the cooperating group. In many instances failure to register dissent within a prescribed period may safely be counted as acceptance of a cooperative action; and this principle may with advantage be written into the basis of agreement

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8 Dougall: op. cit., p. 21.

of new ventures, especially where the number of constituents is large. A cooperative undertaking should in general have a right of direct access to all interested and supporting organizations, without the intervention of intermediate agencies. Thus a jointly supported school should be free to correspond directly with the home boards of participating missions without the necessity of passing the correspondence through the field agencies of the missions. In such a case the field would of course be kept informed to prevent misunderstandings; but procedures should be made as rapid and direct as possible, especially in a field like central Africa where communications are apt to be slow at best.

These are some of the prerequisites for successful cooperation. The list is by no means complete, but these are factors of such salient importance in practice that they can hardly be neglected. Granted these conditions, and especially the will to work together harmoniously at whatever cost, and great progress can be made both toward larger achievement and toward real Christian unity.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR FIELD ORGANIZATION

One can hardly study the changes that are taking place in the activities, responsibilities and outlook of central African missions without becoming aware of a growing disharmony between existing organizational schemes and the functions of

the missions in the years ahead. Increasingly the concern of the missions will be with the developing Native Church and the changing community around the church. It has already been pointed out that the church, if it is to realise the unity that properly belongs to it, and that has already been explicitly set forth as the aim of the Protestant Missions in Congo, must be free to organise itself along geographical or ethnic or linguistic lines rather than according to existing mission boundaries. But the developing life of the church is going to require much more than a gegraphical readjustment, it will require much closer cooperation along all the lines suggested in the preceding sections, and probably others; it will especially require more advanced thinking and planning together on a regional or even colony wide-scale; with power to apply the resources of the missions according to relative needs or opportunities. These may not coincide at all closely with the respective personnels and incomes of the various missions. The unity of the Congo Church, if it is realized in any effective degree, will involve as a necessary corollary a much closer unity in field administration than is now practised. It would be rash to say that this would take the form of organic unity of the missions; some federated or composite organization may be developed to meet the need of unity while preserving a measure of individuality to the missions.

The point of emphasis is that effective unity must express itself in some kind of organizational unity. Otherwise it is impotent--bound by the cleavages within itself. This

necessity will presently make itself felt in Congo, and either the suitable organization will be developed or the unity of the Native Church will be sacrificed.

In the latter case the fault will probably lie with the supporting organizations in the home lands rather than with the mission bodies on the field. The desiderata already postulated as essential to cooperative action,—autonomy of action, freedom from outside interference,—are equally essential to the development of indigenous Christianity in any field, and to the adjustments of mission policy, practice and organization which that development requires. Control in all these respects must rest principally in the mission group on the field, not in a Board several thousand miles away who have rarely any first-hand acquaintance with the field conditions on which they presume to pass judgment.

In other words increasing field autonomy is likely to be necessary during the coming years. The functions of control which have rested, in certain instances at least, in Boards in the homelands, will pass over increasingly to the mission and Native Church councils or controlling committees. And if a kind of overcontrol is needed, it will be provided largely by central field committees. These will become increasingly important in formulating policies and general plans for whole fields or colonies, and in dealing with Government and other agencies on behalf of all the missions.

This type of development is already on foot. The successive stages of growth by which the Congo Protestant Council

has developed from a nebulous consultative assembly into a powerful coordinating agency and won a place as mediator between missions and government--this process of growth has been watched with satisfaction by some missions and with trepidation by others. But the movement has definitely been taking place, and even those who have feared whither it might lead have generally admitted the practical necessity of each step as it was taken.

It would be idle to speculate as to just what the next steps in cooperation will be. Administrative economy and convenience may lead to the consolidation of mission treasuries and secretarial offices at a few judiciously selected centers. Educational necessities and opportunities for collaboration with the governments in this field may make it necessary to have special educational officers or advisers in a number of fields as already in East Africa. Further cooperative ventures in higher education seem probable. The essential thing is not that this or that particular step be taken at a particular time, but that the unity of interest and outlook should continue to grow in every field, so that when a further step in cooperation is needed all parties may be ready to take it and to readjust their separate activities accordingly.

Finally, the development of the Native Church to real autonomy will place the Mission more and more in the position of mediator and interpreter in both directions between the Church on the field, speaking through its own leaders and councils, and the Church in the homelands of the missionary, speaking

through its Boards. Boards will have to accustom themselves increasingly to the support of self-directing activities sponsored by the younger churches. Missionaries will be the interpreters of these activities to the older churches as well as guides and counsellors and active participants in them. Increasingly missionaries will need to be specialists in medicine or one phase or another of education or in social reconstruction along lines still imperfectly worked out. But in essence the missionary's task is unchanged: through his personal testimony and the witness of his life to bring others to the knowledge and experience of the fulness of life which is in Jesus Christ.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to survey the changes taking place in the Native life and culture of central Africa, to discern the forces involved in those changes and the results arising from them, to consider the relation thereto of colonial governments and Christian missions, and to set forth some of the implications for these agencies, especially missions, of this social setting of their work.

The results of this study may be most conveniently set forth as a series of propositions, following, in the main, the sequence of thought elaborated in the text.

1. The penetration of Africa by western culture involves a complex social transformation affecting millions of people. The agencies of this penetration, especially government and missions, are therefore in need of the guidance of sociological awareness and thought.

2. Western civilization, despite its indubitable benefits and values, may be intensely destructive in its effects on Native peoples. Consequently great wisdom is needed in mediating this culture to Africans (or other non-western peoples.)

3. Neither complete Europeanization nor the preservation unchanged of old African cultures is a practicable aim for the mass of Africans, but their development should be guided toward a synthesis and cultural growth, of which the exact outcome cannot be predicated in advance.

4. Colonial governments are limited in their power to restore the wholeness of African life through wholesome cultural mediation, by reason of their commitments to exploitative interests, their involvement with national politics in the homelands, their nationalistic ideologies, and their secular character.

5. Christian missions constitute an invaluable agency of religious, moral and social reintegration and stabilization, which colonial governments do well to welcome into collaboration with them in African colonies.

6. Their position as unofficial collaborators involves the missions in certain responsibilities toward colonial governments, notably that of performing adequately the services entrusted to them.

7. These obligations are not in conflict with the primary function of the missions as exponents of Christianity, but afford them valuable opportunities to demonstrate Christianity in practical and vital terms.

8. Missions, quite as much as governments, need to be aware of the cultural setting and cultural implications of their activity, and must be prepared to adapt their activities to new and changing conditions, and to welcome indigenous reinterpretations of the Christian message.

9. The function of missions is not to attack the customs and beliefs of Native society, but to lead the people to a knowledge of Jesus Christ and his will and teaching; so that they themselves may bring to bear the "mind of Christ" upon their own institutions and habits.

10. As the Christian Gospel affords a new moral standing ground to the individual and a focus for the integration of personality and character, so also the Christian church affords a focus for the re-organization of Native society and an organ of moral judgment and renewal in that society.

11. The medical work of missions, while extremely valuable in itself, needs to be supplemented by general instruction in hygiene and simple science so as to promote a rational understanding of the world in place of the magical conceptions now prevailing. This scientific view in turn requires integration with the fundamental concepts of Christianity into a self-consistent and unified conception of the world.

12. African education should be fitting Africans to live in a changed and changing world. It should therefore neglect neither the heritage from Africa's past, nor the life and resources of the community, nor the wider world and its culture. But its emphasis should always be on fitting people for happy and effective living, and not on the impartation of subject-matter.

13. The educational possibilities of the village school may be best realized by making it the center of a transforming influence applied to the whole community in practical betterment. To this end the village teacher needs the help of itinerant demonstrators or "village guides" of the 'Jeanes' Teacher" type.

14. Higher schools should maintain an active interest in the community and promote community betterment. They should emphasise training in social thinking on practical issues.

15. Training of teachers and Christian leaders generally should emphasise social awareness and thinking, and develop practical ability in dealing with the problems of the African individual and community, as they exist today, in the light of the Christian Gospel.

16. The effect of many western cultural influences is to present a completely secular view of life. Missions and Christian education should counter this by presenting a view of life and the world in which, as in the old African view, religion is the essential color and vital core of the whole. Religious education is therefore not something apart from general education (with the implication that the latter is secular); but needs to become the fundamental character of all education.

17. At the same time religious study and experience should have definite place in the programs of all schools, and all suitable means should be used to deepen and clarify the religious life of students, especially those which utilize characteristically African modes of feeling and expression.

18. Religious training should include suitable definite instruction at appropriate ages in regard to death and life eternal; reproduction, sex, sex hygiene and sexual morality; marriage ; and parenthood. Also Christian conceptions of agriculture and craftsmanship; and Christian conceptions of social and moral obligations and responsibilities.

19. Changing conditions are bringing the missions into ever closer interdependence and functional interrelationship with government and other agencies. These new conditions demand a higher order of social thinking, a broader range of planning, and greater readiness for co-operative activity on the part of African missions.

20. While it is important to the welfare of African peoples that the separation of Church and State and the autonomy of both be maintained, it is also essential to sound thinking and constructive planning that it be fully realized that both Government and Missions are concerned with African man as a whole person, and not with segments of his person or personality. The distinction between religious and secular, as applied to the personality or to society, is artificial and misleading; and may lead to grave errors in policy and practice.

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